

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. III

DECEMBER 1879

No. 12

THE BATTLE OF BUENA VISTA

ONE of our great American poets, looking over a famous battle-field of our country, has said :

"We needs must think of history that waits
For lines that live but in their proud beginning ;
Arrested promises and cheated fates,
Youth's boundless venture and its single winning.
We see the ghosts of deeds they might have done,
The phantom homes that beacons their endeavor ;
We grudge the better strain of men
That proved itself and was extinguished then,
The field, with strength and hope so thickly sown,
Wherefrom no other harvest shall be mown."

These lines vibrated through my mind like the muffled tones of a funeral march as I stood in the military chapel at West Point, and looking towards the eastern wall, read on its marble memorial tablet this inscription :

BUENA VISTA, FEBRUARY 22D-23D, 1847.

Colonel J. J. HARDIN	Lieut. E. F. FLETCHER
" W. R. MCKEE	" R. FERGUSON
" ARCHIBALD YELL	" L. ROBBINS
Lt. Col. HENRY CLAY, JR.	" T. KELLY
Captain GEORGE LINCOLN	" J. C. STEEL
" J. B. ZABRISKIE	" J. BARTLESON
" WM. WOODWARD	" A. ATHERTON
" W. T. WILLIS	" WM. PRICE
" A. R. PORTER	" FRAN. McNULTY
" T. B. KINDER	" R. L. MOORE
" W. WALKER	" D. CAMPBELL
" J. TAGGART	" J. A. LEONHARD
Lieut. B. R. HOUGHTON	" THOMAS C. PARR
" A. B. ROUNTREE	" E. M. VAUGHN

A little army of four thousand six hundred and ninety-one men marched

to this battle-field; of these, two hundred and thirty-nine men and twenty-eight officers were killed, many of them murdered in their wounds. They lay on the battle-ground dead, robbed, stripped of their clothing, yet on a victorious field, from which, with their wounded or exhausted comrades, they had driven twenty thousand men, the élite of the Mexican army, many of them veterans, who had fought in the war of independence against Spain, and had seen constant service in the civil wars that followed.

These simple facts were pregnant of great events. In them were embodied the issue of the war with Mexico, and the acquisition of an empire, as empire represents land, wealth and power; the downfall of Santa Anna, sometimes called the Napoleon of the West; the continuance of the regular army of the United States, then more seriously threatened with extinction by the politicians that at any time since; the election of a President of the United States; and the germ of a great civil war—for all of these things developed as a natural outgrowth or a direct result of the momentous victory in the pass of Angostura, before the plain of Buena Vista. The brilliant achievements of General Scott, which we involuntarily compare with the progress of Cortez over the same ground, were but a blossoming of the hardy plant which General Taylor had set in the soil of Northern Mexico, and which had been watered with the blood of that mere handful of heroes with which he was left to meet the concentrated forces of the enemy.

The time is short, by years, since our army marched into Mexico—but what a change in the spirit of the people! Not for the worse, perhaps, but still a great change, such as separates eager, chivalrous, self sacrificing youth from more prudent and calculating manhood. Late in the spring of 1846 there was a call for volunteers for the war with Mexico. The noblest and choicest spirits in the land sprang quick to arms. There had been bitter strife in regard to the war. In stump speeches, on the floor of Congress, in the political caucus; everywhere the war of words ran high. Personal ambition, fanatical abolitionism and imperious pro-slaveryism had aroused the passions of the people for or against the war. But above the clamor and invective of partizans at last was heard the announcement of these irrevocable facts: *Texas is annexed*; Taylor has advanced to protect her frontier; the Mexicans have crossed the Rio Grande; Colonel Cross has been killed; Captain Porter's little band, in search of him, has been defeated and dispersed. Thornton's squadron of dragoons has been captured after a desperate struggle.

In 1846 men did not read so calmly and indifferently as now of the capture and slaughter of the gallant officers of our regular army; trained, accomplished, high-principled gentlemen, whose moral, intellectual and social qualities are an honor to our country. Political feuds were at once forgotten; there was only generous rivalry as to who should be permitted to go. Thousands offered their services who were not accepted. The call was made by the President, in the beginning, on the Southern and Western States as being nearer the scene of the conflict. There, where there had been the hottest political contest with the cries of Clay and peace as opposed to Polk, annexation and war, peace men were now found raising regiments, and entering with enthusiasm into the plans of the administration. When these plans were a matter of deliberation and argument, they were opposed mainly on two grounds. First, that Texas being still claimed as a province by Mexico, her annexation would necessarily involve us in a war with that nation without adequate cause. The other and more urgent cause of opposition was a desire to check the extension of slavery.

The Texas question was foreseen even then by thoughtful statesmen to be an entering wedge which might ultimately cleave the Union. An extract from a private letter of Colonel John J. Hardin, whose name heads the list of slain at the battle of Buena Vista, written to a friend while he was a member of Congress from Illinois (he was a whig, and opposed to annexation), will give an insight into the state of political feeling on this subject. It is dated Washington, January 26th, 1845, and says: "Last night the democrats passed the Texas project through our house. At the commencement of the session it could not have passed. But I have been convinced for some days that the scheme which was adopted would be passed. Every loco-foco from the North, with only two or three exceptions, who was not re-elected, or who was satisfied he would not be, voted for it. Every office seeker was entreating his friends to go for it, and every member of Congress who wants an office voted for it. For it is understood and proclaimed that those who will not go for Texas, as the South wants it, could obtain no office from Mr. Polk. It is said by some of the Senators that it will not pass that body. Although I cannot count enough to pass it, yet I feel satisfied that enough will be hunted up to go for it, and thus get it through. No one supposed the vote in our house would be so large, and indeed no vote was estimated to pass the Bill by a fair count, but when it was about to pass a number voted for it.

So in the Senate, I think, they will find men to change their vote to pass it, if necessary. We have been so engrossed with Texas that we have no other news whatever. You will see that the project which was adopted was proposed by a Tennessee whig, Milton Brown. He is one of my messmates; he avowed at all times that he went for it purely as a Southern slavery question; that he drew up his proposition, and proposed it, for the express purpose of preventing any misunderstanding on the subject of slavery, and determined to make the North swallow it if they would have Texas; and if they were satisfied to give the South Texas on these terms, he was willing to take it. Only eight whigs voted for it, and they were not enough to defeat it, if they had all voted against it."

This hint of congressional proceedings, and of the changing of votes gives point to Hosea Biglow's assertion that

"A marcfil Providence fashioned us holler
O' purpose that we might our principles swaller;
Besides, there's a wonderful power in latitude
To shift a man's morril relations an' attitude;
Some flossifers think thet a fakkilty's granted
The minnit its proved to be thoroughly wanted;
So, wen one's chose to Congress, ez soon ez he's in it,
A collar grows right round his neck in a minnit;
For a coat, that sets wal here in old Massachusetts,
Wen it gits on to Washington, somehow askew sets."

And also to what he says of the people, who

"Think they're a kind o' fulfillin' the prophecies,
Wen they're on'y jest changin' the holders of offices;
(An' fer Democrat Horners there's good plums left yet.)
To the people they're ollers ez slick ez molasses,
An' butter their bread on both sides with The Masses,
Half o' whom they've persuaded, by way of a joke,
Thet Washington's mantelpiece fell upon Polk."

But the fun and satire, as well as the animosity of political discussions, were unheeded, or silenced upon the President's demand for volunteers. On the 30th of May, 1846, General Wool, then Adjutant-General to the army, was ordered to repair to Cincinnati and muster into service twelve thousand volunteers from the States of Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois and Mississippi. This business was dispatched with thoroughness and rapidity, and on the 11th of July General Wool was ordered to turn over his command in the States to General Butler, and to concen-

trate a part of the force, now ready to move, at San Antonio de Bexar, in Texas. From this place General Wool was to lead an expedition against the city of Chihuahua in the interior of Northern Mexico. General Butler soon after embarked with a larger portion of the volunteers to join General Taylor on the Rio Grande. General Wool proceeded to Alton, Illinois, the place of rendezvous of the First and Second Illinois Regiments, commanded by Colonels Hardin and Bissell. Finding them in a satisfactory state of preparation for his expedition, he went to New Orleans, and thence to Lavaca and San Antonio. The Illinois regiments soon followed. They embarked at Alton for New Orleans. Though but a child, I remember well that bright summer day, made brilliant by the continuous strains of martial music, the dress parades of the regiments, the enthusiastic cheers of the thousands of people who had come to witness their departure. The tears of parting were suppressed, the forebodings of danger were silenced by the brightness, the glitter of the scene, and the hopefulness of the soldiers who soon crowded the broad decks of the great white steamer. It seemed to my young eyes to be bearing them away to some unreal world. Alas, the incoming steamer that brought the shattered regiments home was not crowded!

From New Orleans they went by steamer to Lavaca, and from this place on the 11th of August was begun the famous march of the Army of the Centre, as General Wool's command was called. General Taylor's army, then in the field, was the Army of Occupation, and the troops of General Kearney's expedition comprised the Army of the West. General Scott had not yet arrived in Mexico.

On the 5th of April, 1846, General Taylor, having marched from Corpus Christi with the whole force of regulars at his disposal, numbering three thousand five hundred and ninety-three, established himself on the east bank of the Rio Grande, opposite Matamoras. Here he erected a fort. His stores had been forwarded from New Orleans, by sea, to Point Isabel. On the 30th of April, two companies were left to garrison the fort, and Taylor, with the remainder of his army, marched to Point Isabel to bring up his supplies. In the meantime, a large force of Mexicans had been gathered at Matamoras under General Ampudia. While the main army of General Taylor was on its march from Point Isabel with its train of ammunition and supplies, it encountered the whole force of the Mexicans, six thousand strong, which had been brought out to intercept its return. Here was fought the battle of Palo Alto, in which Taylor was victorious, with a loss of only nine killed

and forty-five wounded, while the loss of the enemy was over three hundred.

The night following this action the Mexicans retreated, and took a strong position at Resaca de la Palma. They were reinforced by two thousand fresh troops, and here, the next day, another fiercely contested battle took place, in which the rout of the Mexicans was complete. The losses on both sides were heavier than on the previous day; that of the Mexicans exceeding five hundred. A few days later, Arista vacated Matamoras, and destroyed or concealed his guns. General Taylor took possession of the city; the first campaign of the war was at an end, and the disputed territory between the Nueces and the Rio Grande was secured.

During the following weeks the smaller towns above Matamoras, on the river, were occupied without opposition. Early in August General Taylor moved his headquarters to Carmargo, which was to be his depot of supplies during the anticipated operation on Monterey, one of the strongest fortified posts in Mexico.

While these movements were in progress on land, the Mexican ports had been blockaded by ships of the United States Navy. During the month of August, Santa Anna, an exile from Mexico, had been permitted, by order of the government at Washington, to run the blockade at Vera Cruz. This questionable act of the administration was thought, at that time, to have been prompted by a belief in Santa Anna's desire to negotiate a peaceful settlement with the United States. It is now affirmed that the government at Washington had revealed to it at that time a plot between the emissaries of European governments and the authorities in Mexico, for the establishment of a monarchy in the latter country, under the protection of the foreign powers, and that Santa Anna was permitted to enter the port of Vera Cruz to ensure the overthrow of this conspiracy.

Santa Anna approached the City of Mexico, surrounded by his friends and followers, early in September, and was tendered the supreme power. He adroitly declined "the place of power for the post of danger." Upon this announcement the Mexican government ordered a levy of thirty thousand men, to rendezvous at the capital or at San Luis Potosi within seventy days. Santa Anna ordered Ampudia, then in command of the northern army, to evacuate Monterey, unless sure of a successful resistance, and to fall back on San Luis Potosi, where he would establish his headquarters. Ampudia, confident of success, and anxious to win the *éclat* of a victory, used his discretionary power to resist the

American occupation. This resulted in the storming of Monterey by Taylor's army, where

"On, still on, our column kept,
Through walls of flame, its withering way;
Where fell the dead, the living stept,
Still charging on the guns that swept
The slippery streets of Monterey.

"The foe himself recoiled aghast,
When, striking where he strongest lay,
We swooped his flanking batteries past,
And, braving full their murderous blast,
Stormed home the towers of Monterey.

"Our banners on those turrets wave,
And there our evening bugles play;
Where orange boughs above their grave,
Keep green the memory of the brave,
Who fought and fell at Monterey."

Thus with continued success had General Taylor pressed on to a new base of operations, though with severe losses. The occupation of Monterey had been accomplished only after a determined resistance, and with the loss of twelve officers and one hundred and eight men killed, and over three hundred wounded. The loss of the enemy was one thousand or more. By the terms of the capitulation signed on the 24th of September, Taylor had agreed to an armistice of eight weeks, in consequence of the representation made by Ampudia, that peace commissioners had been appointed by his government to negotiate a treaty with the United States.

We will now return to the Army of the Centre at San Antonio. General Wool had made extensive and careful preparation for the expedition committed to his command by the authorities at Washington. He was impatient to advance, but found it difficult to obtain reliable information concerning the routes practicable for a march of one thousand miles, to be traversed before he could reach Chihuahua.

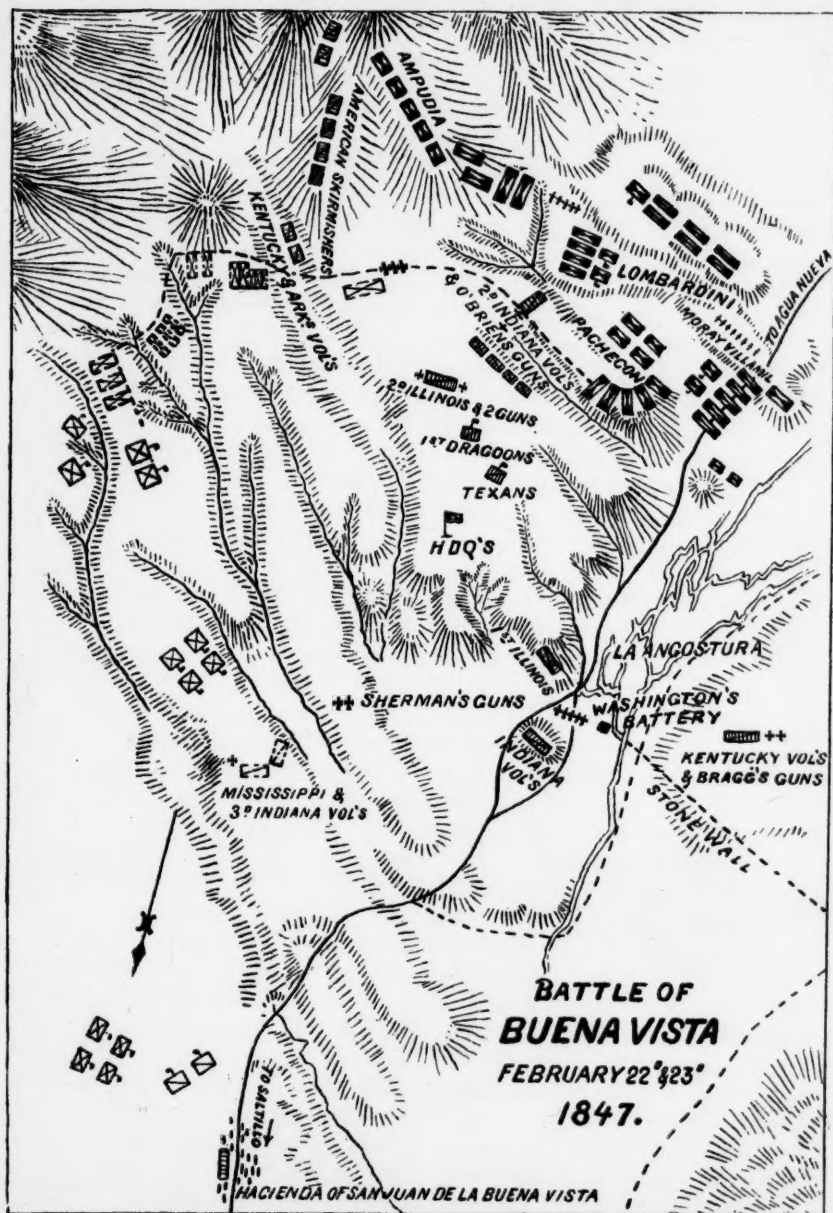
In September, General Wool left San Antonio with his advance column; the Illinois regiments, with Colonel Churchill, of the regular service, followed some days later, and the whole command reached Parras in the latter part of November, when General Wool received dispatches from General Taylor, informing him that the expedition to Chihuahua, according to advices from Washington, would be abandoned. General Taylor and General Wool acquiesced in the propriety of this advice, as

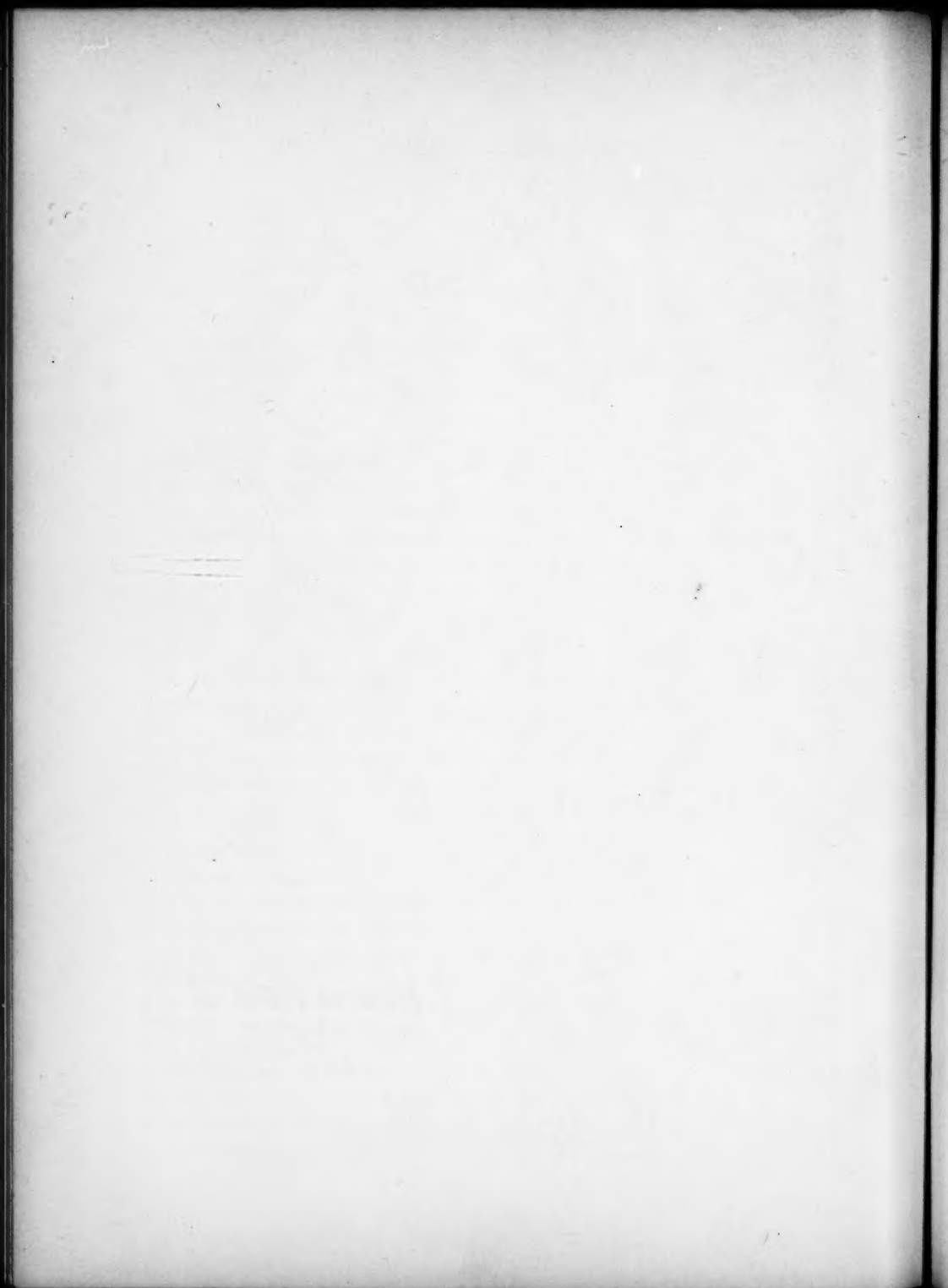
Chihuahua was still about four hundred miles distant, the intervening country sparsely inhabited, and the city itself a place of little importance.

This expensive expedition and laborious march was thus closed without benefit to the American cause, for these troops, with their supplies, might have joined General Taylor's army by the shorter and more convenient route chosen for the volunteers under General Butler. No stronger example can be found of entire devotion to the government, and self-sacrificing determination to do the best that could be done from day to day, with an inadequate force and undefined plans, than is seen in the course now pursued by General Taylor. Forced to create a base of supplies in the enemy's country, receiving vague, often contradictory instructions from Washington, and separated by weeks of time from even these unsatisfactory orders, he still pressed heroically forward; feeling his way, and planting himself, step by step, more firmly on the soil of the enemy's country.

Now, in the last weeks of the year, having been reinforced by General Butler, and later by General Wool's division, he was for the first time in a position to form plans and fix upon a definite object, but he was still hampered by instructions from Washington. In a letter to Colonel Hardin, dated, "Headquarters Army of Occupation or Invasion, Monterey, Mexico, November 28th, 1846," after speaking of the efficiency of the First Illinois Regiment, he adds, "By the last despatches from Washington I am directed to hold on to what we have acquired in the northern part of Mexico, but for the present not to proceed farther; I have, in consequence of said instructions, ordered General Wool, with his column, to occupy Parras, and General Worth, with a command, Saltillo, which may be considered the advanced posts of our army, and which the Mexican General, if he determines to act on the offensive, might operate against, in which case these commands might be united so as to resist successfully, until reinforced from here, where I propose keeping a respectable force for that object, and in the event of orders to push farther on, you would be in a position to be brought together or joined by other troops to act against San Luis Potosi, Zacatecas or Durango."

General Taylor's plans were suddenly destroyed; for, unexpectedly, in the face of the enemy, his army had been reduced to a fragment; not by the foe, but by a friend, his superior officer, acting under orders from the government. General Scott's misunderstanding with the administration having been adjusted during the autumn, he sailed in November for Mexico, to conduct an expe-





dition to the City of Mexico, by way of Vera Cruz. A large levy of new troops were sent out from the United States to meet him, and he was permitted to make a requisition on General Taylor for such of his troops as he required for the success of his enterprise. He had accordingly sent dispatches from New Orleans both to General Taylor and to General Butler, second in command, ordering them to forward immediately to Brazas Santiago, the whole of the regular force at their disposal, except a few companies of dragoons and of artillery. Taylor removed his headquarters to Agua Nueva, and concentrated at that place his depleted army.

The dispatches of General Scott to General Taylor, in which he made his requisition for these troops, fell into the hands of Santa Anna, through the capture and murder of their bearer, Lieutenant Richy, and his escort. It will be seen at once how the wary Santa Anna, who had been cautiously watching for a favorable opportunity to strike a meditated blow, would avail himself of this happy chance. He could have wished for no better opportunity. Scott, with his army scarcely organized, sailing towards the celebrated stronghold, San Juan D'Ulloa, which must hold him in check if it did not paralyze his advance; Taylor, stripped of his regulars, and with but a small force of raw troops. He, on the contrary, with thirty thousand men, veterans or new levies, which had been several months under discipline, and were commanded by many efficient Generals, leading men of military repute in the republic; and all under the constant stimulus of exciting harangues against the invaders of the sacred soil of Mexico; he remembered how a similar piece of strategy had secured him a great triumph in 1829, and actually terminated the war with Spain. Now one decisive blow, and Taylor would be annihilated, when he would have ample time to turn his attention to Scott, and wrest from him any advantage he had gained in his advance on the City of Mexico. Taylor had indeed been victorious on the Rio Grande, but Santa Anna was not there; mistakes had been made; the army had been used in detachments; the feelings of the versatile Mexican had not been sufficiently aroused; the soldiers of such a people, skillfully managed, could perform great deeds; they had proved it in the past. Concentration, rapidity of action, enthusiasm, discipline! these would be the instruments of his success. Such were the thoughts and plans that filled the mind of Santa Anna, and he had cause for his elation. Carefully and skillfully he drew up his orders for the advance of his whole army from San Luis Potosi, to precipitate it upon the little command of General Taylor.

And what of the American General; with what spirit did Taylor await the wily Mexicans? Did sanguine anticipations of success elate his mind, and stir his suppressed but active sensibilities? Unimpressionable, practical and resolute, he indulged in few sentiments; but now a painful sense of injury, and an unusual anxiety lay behind the invincible determination which, like the armor of the ancient knight, clothed the spirit of this modern Saxon. Why had the government stripped him of so large a portion of his command while the enemy, in force, lay before him? What possible exigency could necessitate the withdrawal of the whole force of veterans who had stood by him at Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma and Monterey? The Mexicans, although defeated, had fought obstinately and well at these places; the same veteran troops were now in the enemy's camp, and were reinforced by hosts of others. Were his faithful services not only to be ignored, but their reward to be bestowed on another, while he was left single-handed to contend with his powerful and watchful foe? Yet while pained by such thoughts he declares that, "he will carry out, in good faith, the views of the government, though he be sacrificed in the effort." Still he pondered long and anxiously, if not despondently, on the chances against him; and they were great. Santa Anna, whom he was to meet for the first time, had a world-wide fame for courage and for strategy; he was supported by Ampudia, who had already proved himself determined and crafty, since he had out-matched his victorious and straitforward foe at Monterey, when the terms of capitulation were to be drawn; by Arista, who, with his magnificent physique and strong personal influence, cemented many conflicting elements in the Mexican army; by Lombardini, his second in command, whom he greatly trusted; by Pacheco and Perez; by Mora y Villamil, whose scornful despatch to General Taylor some weeks earlier stung the old soldier into an indignant reply; and Ortega, whose division was to be held like a whip, with which Santa Anna would scourge the defeated Americans from the soil of Mexico, and Miñon, whose cavalry should drive the fugitives back to the lash of Ortega. He had, too, Torrejon, with his brilliant Lancers, the pride of the army. It was, indeed, a fine army: officers and men treading their own soil, inspired by sentiments of patriotism and religion, while their confidence in the skill and courage of their leader, Santa Anna, gave stability to their enthusiasm.

The little army awaiting them may be viewed at a glance. The Commander-in-Chief, resolute to obstinacy, careless of life in the heat of action, both for himself and his soldiers, yet tender hearted and self-

sacrificing; liable to make mistakes, yet cool, ready and invincible in his ability to escape from their effects. Wool, his second in command an experienced soldier, brave, ambitious and sanguine; Lane, an untried Brigadier-General of volunteers; besides these, a few Colonels, Captains and Lieutenants. As events proved, each of these minor officers became in turn a commander, and few Generals of the line could have excelled them in bravery, skill and discretion. Captains Bragg and Sherman and Lieutenant O'Brien, with their batteries, seemed ubiquitous during the whole contest, while Washington, with his few guns, held the left wing of the Mexican army in check from the beginning to the end of the battle. Colonel May's name became a synonym for dashing bravery; General Lane, wounded, but still fighting, led his heroic Indiana men on in a way that redeemed the ignominy their State suffered in one part of the field; Colonel Davis displayed ability that was considered an evidence of military genius; McKee and Clay, in one regiment, were graduates of West Point, and fulfilled the expectations that their training inspired; Colonels Marshall and Yell led their mounted men with great gallantry. Yell had left his seat in Congress for the dangers of the field. Bissell, a former member of Congress, was a man of fine attainments and excellent judgment; he had seconded with alacrity the system of discipline to which Colonel Churchill subjected the Illinois regiments during their long march from San Antonio. Hardin had stimulated the pride and interest with which Churchill regarded these regiments. Hardin's name had been urged at Washington for Brigadier-General of the Illinois volunteers, but his political antecedents prevented such an appointment. He had seen service in the Black Hawk war, and had been General-in-Chief of the Illinois militia for some years, at a time when it was not merely a nominal position. He had made a careful study of the science of military tactics, and the effect of the care bestowed upon the Illinois battalions will be seen when we witness the changing fortunes of this long battle. From nine o'clock on the morning of the 23d, these two Illinois regiments, or rather parts of them, assisted by the Second Kentucky Regiment, received and repelled the masses of the centre column of Santa Anna's army, commanded by himself in person; for seven long hours the contest unceasingly beat, like the waves of the ocean, on the rocky shore of these stout Western hearts, and not a soldier flinched or faltered. When the unfortunate Indiana battalions gave way, Illinois was there to cover the flying columns of her sister State; when the heavy infantry of Lombardini and Pacheco followed

the fugitives with the lusty insolence of victory, Illinois was there, and stood firm until surrounded by the overwhelming numbers of these united divisions. Then she calmly turned her back on the enemy, marched steadily onward, changed front in his very teeth, and received him as firmly as before. Then Kentucky came to the front, and assisted in that long continued struggle on the plateau, while Mississippi and Indiana were performing their brilliant achievements on the left. But we anticipate.

Agua Nueva, the most advanced post of General Taylor's line, where his army was now concentrated, lay on the border of a great desert, destitute of water, which the Mexican army must traverse on its way from San Luis Potosi; for this reason it was considered a desirable point at which to meet its advance, suffering as it must then be from fatigue and want of water.

On the 20th of February General Taylor sent Colonel May with a strong reconnoitring force to ascertain whether the enemy was approaching on his left by way of Hedionda, from which place he might pass on to Encantada in his rear. He also sent Captain McCulloch with a small party of Texan Rangers on the Road to Encarnacion, on the highway from San Luis Potosi, to seek the enemy in that direction. Through these reconnoitering parties, General Taylor learned that Santa Anna was at Encarnacion en route for Agua Nueva, and fearing a flank movement on the part of the enemy that would intercept his base of supplies at Saltillo, he decided to withdraw his army to Buena Vista. On the morning of the 21st, orders were accordingly issued for the evacuation of Agua Nueva and a retreat to Buena Vista. During the day this was accomplished. Colonel Yell, with his mounted men, was left to guard the stores until the last wagon train should leave. There was hurry and confusion among the teamsters in their eagerness to follow the retiring army. All night the work of loading and starting went on. Before daylight the American pickets were driven in by the Mexicans. Then the hacienda and the few remaining stores were fired, and lighted by the brilliant flames of the burning buildings the long train of wagons, loaded and empty, dashed off with furious speed toward Buena Vista. The Arkansas regiment remained until the stores were burned, and then they too galloped hastily after the flying teamsters. This confusion and hurry doubtless impressed the advancing columns of the Mexicans with the belief, upon which Santa Anna acted on the following day, that General Taylor's army was flying before his superior numbers. They were, on the contrary, quietly encamped at Buena Vista,

the whole army resting there, except the Mississippi regiment, Bragg's battery and May's dragoons, which formed the escort to General Taylor, who had hurried on to Saltillo to secure the defence of that city. Colonel Hardin's regiment had also been left at La Angostura, the approach to Buena Vista, with orders to defend it, if attacked, until reinforced, and to commence a line of earthworks in front of their position. At daylight Washington's battery was sent from Buena Vista to support the Illinois regiment, as General Wool received information during the night that Santa Anna's army had reached Agua Nueva.

The hacienda of Buena Vista lies in the picturesque valley of Encantada. This valley, commencing about six miles north of Agua Nueva at Encantada, extends fifteen miles to Saltillo. Buena Vista is six miles south of Saltillo. La Angostura (The Narrow Pass) is one mile and a half south of Buena Vista. The valley is scarcely a mile and a half wide at this point and does not anywhere exceed four miles in width; on either side arise lofty mountains, two or three thousand feet in height. A small stream flows northward on the west side of the valley; the road, which is the great highway from San Luis Potosi to Saltillo, runs along the eastern bank of the stream. The ground on the west side of the stream at La Angostura is cut into deep, intricate gullies, making it impassable for artillery, and even for infantry. The ground between the stream and the mountain on the east is elevated sixty or seventy feet above the road and is cut up in deep and wide ravines and narrow gorges. The plateaus between these ravines slope gradually upward to the base of the precipitous mountain. A high tongue of land on the east side of the Pass forms a part of the plateau upon which the American army was posted on the 22d and 23d. This plateau is indented from the road by three gorges, setting deeply in toward the base of the mountain; it is fronted on the south by a broad ravine, beyond which rises a mountain, overlooking the plateau from the south, and thus forms an angle with the mountains on the east; in the rear of the plateau is a long ravine, extending quite to the mountain. It was a battle-field with striking features. Santa Anna afterward called it a Thermopylæ. It was a strong position, but with one weak side, which Santa Anna was quick to see, and during the engagement the mountain heights, the gorges of the plateau, and the ravines in the front and rear, were used as often with advantage to the enemy as to the Americans.

Before leaving San Luis Potosi, Santa Anna issued a proclamation to his army, containing these sentences: "Companions in arms! the operations of the enemy require us to move more precipitately on their line,

and we are about to do it. To-day you commence your march through a thinly settled country, without supplies and without provisions. Be assured that very quickly you will be in possession of those of your enemy, and of his riches; with them all your wants will be abundantly supplied. The cause we sustain is holy; we are defending the homes of our forefathers and of our posterity, our honor, our holy religion, our wives, our children. Let our motto be to conquer or to die. Let us swear before the Eternal that we will not rest until we completely wipe away from our soil the vain-glorious foreigner who has dared to pollute it with his presence. No terms with him. Nothing for us but heroism and grandeur." In his order of march he says: "The Commander-in-Chief commands, that the baggage shall not be carried with the army, nor shall the soldiers take their knapsacks; they shall carry nothing but their cooking utensils. All officers and other persons shall march in their places, and when bivouacking, shall keep at the head of their respective commands."

Under these orders the army marched to Encarnacion; upon arriving there, Santa Anna's orders were still more rigid and explicit. From this place to Agua Nueva, where he expected to surprise Taylor, the road lay over a dreary waste, thirty-five miles in length, and destitute of water; and here his orders state, "that the different corps shall to-day (the 20th of February) receive from the commissary three days' rations; and that they require the necessary meat this afternoon for the first meal to-morrow, which the troops are directed to eat one hour before taking up the line of march; and the second will be taken in their haversacks, to be eaten in the night wherever they may halt. There will be no fires permitted, neither will signal be made by any military instrument of music, the movement at early daybreak on the morning of the 22d having to be made in the most profound silence. The troops will drink all the water they can before marching, and will take with them all they can possibly carry; they will economize the water all they can, for we shall encamp without water, and shall not arrive at it until the following day. The chiefs of corps will pay *much, much, much* attention to this last instruction."

It will be seen from these orders how certainly Santa Anna calculated upon surprising Taylor, and how carefully he considered the difficulties in his way. His army marched in the following order: The advance column, under Ampudia, was composed of four battalions of light infantry, a brigade of artillery, 16-pounders, and a regiment of engineers. His centre division, which followed, comprised the columns

of heavy infantry under Lombardini and Pacheco, with 12-pounders and 8-pounders and their park. The rear division was made up of the remaining artillery and the cavalry under Ortega, and a rear guard of Lancers under Andrade.

Thus, with all the reckless gayety and ardent enthusiasm of this great army hushed to silence, the long line of artillery, infantry and cavalry crept like an immense serpent of the tropical regions along the cactus-lined road of the dreary plain, making its stealthy way towards its intended victim. Halting at the Pass of Carnero, near Agua Nueva, it stretched forth its head through the mountain gap, like a veritable reptile, to sting ere it wrapped its coils around the object of its attack. The light infantry pushed on to Agua Nueva, and it was this advance that had driven in the American pickets.

Santa Anna believed the American army in flight, and, therefore, gave his already exhausted troops no time for rest or refreshment; only permitting them to drink and fill their canteens at Agua Nueva, he placed his cavalry in advance, and pushed rapidly forward. On the morning of the 22d, the Mexican cavalry came in sight of the Illinois regiment, strongly posted behind entrenchments on the high ground east of La Angostura, and, galloping on the road over the last elevation in their rear, they saw Washington's battery coming rapidly up. This was the first intimation the Mexicans had that their progress would be resisted. The squadrons of cavalry wheeled, drew out of the range of Washington's guns, and awaited the arrival of the Mexican artillery and infantry.

It is eight o'clock on the morning of the 22d of February, Washington's birthday. In the American camp at the hacienda of Buena Vista, since daybreak, there has been a scene of activity and hilarity. It might be supposed that soldiers and officers were preparing for a holiday parade, so exuberant are their spirits and so merry their jests. A few watchful ones, looking off from the broad plain of Buena Vista, and through the beautiful valley towards Encantada, see long drifting clouds of dust rising over the road beyond the pass. It is the enemy. Suddenly the "long roll" calls, To Arms!

Serious eagerness and suppressed impatience now supplant the joyousness of the earlier hours. Quickly the battalions are formed; the riflemen are in saddle; the flying artillery is in motion. Every band of music throws out on the fresh morning air the tones of the national hymn, Hail Columbia! Every flag flutters free above the firm hands of the standard bearers. The battle cry is passed from line to line. It is

"The memory of Washington." Cheer after cheer peals through the valley and floats among the mountain tops. In vehement hurrah the soldier gives inarticulate expression to his love of country and of home, his devotion to a high ideal of firmness and courage in the person of Washington, and to the fierce passion with which he regards the foe that he goes forth to meet. The infantry, artillery and cavalry now fall into column, and preceded by strains of inspiring music, march to the battle-field.

General Taylor, with his escort, has not returned from Saltillo. It devolves upon General Wool to assign the positions on the field. Washington's battery is placed on the road in the defile La Angostura, with two companies of the First Illinois Regiment; an epaulment is thrown up in their front, from the foot of the high ground and across the road to the perpendicular bank of the stream. Six companies of the First Illinois, Colonel Hardin commanding, are on the height above the defile. This is the key of the position. Slightly in the rear of Washington's battery, on an eminence, at the base of which the road divides, is stationed Colonel McKee's Second Kentucky Regiment. On the left of Hardin's regiment on the plateau, and near the head of the second gorge, is the Second Illinois (Colonel Bissell's) Regiment, and on its right, and somewhat in the rear, a company of dragoons and one of mounted Texans. Colonel Yell's mounted Arkansas men, two companies of Indiana riflemen and Colonel Marshall's mounted Kentuckians are on the extreme left, at the base of the mountain. The remaining troops, consisting of General Lane's Indiana brigade and Captain Sherman's battery (except two pieces, which are on the right and left of Bissell's regiment) are in reserve behind the long ravine in the rear of the plateau.

General Wool now rides along the lines, and addresses a few inspiring words to the soldiers, reminding them of the memories of the day; to these they respond with shouts of "Washington! Washington!" Now they silently await the attack of the Mexicans. Before it is made, General Taylor returns from Saltillo, and approves the disposition of the troops. He too moves along the line of battle, but no words of encouragement or expectation escape his lips. No need of such words from him; his soldiers know well that he never contemplates defeat in the face of the enemy, and that he is ready to perform all he asks of others. A glance of his keen, calm eye thrills the men as he passes them in review, and again loud huzzahs resound among the mountains.

At eleven o'clock a flag of truce is received by General Taylor with a message from General Santa Anna, advising Taylor to surrender at discretion, as he is surrounded by twenty thousand men, and must be inevitably cut the pieces. General Taylor "declines acceding to this request." While awaiting this answer, Santa Anna displays his army in imposing array. His infantry is disposed in two lines, one in rear of the other, on an eminence south of the plateau; it is supported by a battery of 16-pounders and a regiment of engineers on the right, and by a battery of 12 and 8-pounders and one howitzer on the left near the road. His cavalry is stationed on the right and left flanks, slightly in the rear; the battalion of Leon occupies an eminence on his left, and directly in front of Washington's battery. General Santa Anna, with the regiment of hussars, his personal guard, are in the rear of the centre. His large body of reserves and general park are on the road south of these positions.

Santa Anna soon perceived the weakness of the American left, and at one o'clock detached four battalions, under Ampudia, to seize and hold the slopes of the mountains on the east and south. The line of these mountains does not lie directly east and south, but near enough to warrant the use of these terms. While Ampudia's movement was in progress Santa Anna also ordered a demonstration to be made on his left, although he had already discovered the impassable nature of the ground in that direction. This had the effect he intended, for General Taylor immediately ordered Bragg's battery and McKee's Kentucky regiment across the stream, and they took a position to the right and front of Washington's battery.

At three o'clock the battle is opened by the Mexicans. They discharge the howitzer on their right, and Ampudia pushes vigorously up the mountain. Colonel Marshall, commanding on the American left, orders the riflemen of his own and Yell's regiments to dismount and deploy as skirmishers to meet this advance; they hastily ascend, and as volley after volley of musketry rolls down the side of the mountain, they are answered by the less frequent, but more deadly crack of the rifle. The riflemen conceal themselves behind rocks and shrubs to secure a surer aim, and they succeed, for the Mexican loss here is strangely out of proportion to the numbers engaged against them. Higher and higher climb the skirmishers; faster and faster ascend the close columns of Ampudia, hurrying up behind those already engaged, and striving to out-flank the Americans. Marshall, at the base of the mountain, sends a company to seize and hold a spur of the ascent that overlooks

the positions of both armies. They succeed, and he is reinforcing them, when an Aid from General Wool orders him to withdraw the advanced company. He obeys promptly, but reluctantly. General Wool then approaches and informs him that the order was incorrectly stated. Marshall sends an Indiana company to retake the knoll; they start; they are vigorously attacked; they waver and return, and this desirable position is lost.

Now the constant booming of the Mexican cannon mingles with the volleys of musketry from the hill, and their balls plunge harmlessly into the ground in front of the American troops on the plateau, who make no reply, but stand in determined silence, and watch anxiously the contest on the mountain, where the skirmishers stretch in a long line from the base to the summit. The struggle continues, each holding the ground first taken, until the approach of darkness, when the firing gradually abates. The Americans are withdrawn from the height with only four wounded, while they have disabled three hundred of the Mexicans.

General Taylor, satisfied that the enemy would not renew the attack before morning, again started for Saltillo to ensure its safety, and took with him Davis' regiment of riflemen and May's dragoons. Arrived at Saltillo, he arranged for its defense with the small force already there. Two companies from each of the Illinois regiments and Webster's battery; one piece of artillery and two companies of the Mississippi regiment were sent to defend the headquarters south of the city. Miñon, with his Mexicans, was hovering on the roads to the east, between the city and Buena Vista; he had orders from Santa Anna not to make an attack until the Americans were in retreat, when he was to fall upon and destroy them. The more effectually to accomplish this object, a force of one thousand mounted rancheros were sent by a mule path over the mountains towards the west to unite with Miñon when the hour should arrive to capture and annihilate the defeated Americans.

At La Angostura, on the battle-field, the moon shines clear and bright, throwing strong shadows in the valley, and showing brilliant lines of light across the plateau and on the elevations, where the Americans now rest in position and on their arms—rest as men do under the pressure of intense, but suppressed excitement. Profound silence hovers mysteriously in the black shadows; it steals ghost-like over the burnished arms of the waiting soldiers. The loud huzzahs, the strains of stirring

music, the boisterous jests are hushed, not by gloomy forebodings, but by serious thought and quiet resolution. These brave Americans are not hirelings, or mere machines in the hands of their commanders. They obey with alacrity in the routine of drill and in the moment of action; but when these conditions are relaxed, reflection, judgment and feeling awake, and they ponder on their surroundings, and upon the issues they promise. Now, for the first time, they have seen the enemy, not in the heat of battle (for the afternoon's work was but a skirmish) falling under their well-aimed instruments of death, but displayed in broad lines of glittering array, or moving in dense, heavy columns with firmness and vigor like their own; they have listened to the tramp and clang of their legion of horsemen; they have heard the thunder of those old Spanish guns, around whose brazen mouths are carved the curious devices of great kings; they realize how like a miniature army they, a few valiant Americans, are, as they lie on the hillside, when compared with the expanded hosts of the Mexicans. Thinking thus, they have no fear; they do not quail or tremble, but quietly and simply nerve themselves for the unequal contest, from which they are separated by a few hours of rest. In such a mood they hear suddenly breaking through the valley the tremendous Vivas! of the Mexicans, which follow a long speech delivered by Santa Anna to his soldiers, exciting them to desperation and revenge, "*Viva la Republica!*" "*Libertad o Muerte!*" "*Viva, viva Santana!*" Rising from amid these vociferous sounds, like the song of birds above the roaring cataract, swell the entrancing strains of the marvelous Mexican music. Mexico may be called the land of music and of flowers. Her women of all classes surround themselves constantly with the varied flora which bloom from the tropical feet of their snow-capped mountains, upward through their changing temperatures like the harmonious gradations of a musical scale, and her men abandon themselves to the enjoyment of music as only southern races can. The spirit of the old Aztec chants lend a wild and singular beauty to softer modern strains, as the Aztec blood has mingled strange characteristics with the old Castilian. Delicately and sweetly the tender strains float down the valley, and melt the stern hearts of the American soldiers. The source from whence they come is forgotten, and other sounds blend with the melodies they hear; the gentle voices of wives far away, the cooing of babes upon their breasts, the tender tones of sweethearts, the feeble words of aged mothers seem to fill the air; the Mexicans are no longer before them,

but white-winged angels seem beckoning them forward; tears slip unchecked over rugged cheeks, and simple prayers escape from bearded lips.

"Through every pulse the music stole,
And held communion with the soul."

Silence and darkness, fit companions, fall together on the martial hosts that lie in the valley; a cradle of old Earth, in which she has hushed her fractious children to a momentary repose. But like a passionate mother her mood changes, and her children move uneasily in their slumbers. Heavy clouds veil the white-faced moon; sharp, cold winds, seldom felt there, sweep through the valley; short, beating showers of rain chill the unfed soldiers of Santa Anna, and call forth gruff tones from the disturbed ranks of the Americans. No fires are permitted, except high on the mountain, where the fierce cold endangers the lives of the men; these flare like beacons of danger, making the darkness and cold of the valley seem more intense.

At Buena Vista a squadron of dragoons have parked the camp and the supplies on the road outside of the hacienda, ready for any result the morrow may bring forth; they too drop on the ground, with their bridle reins on their arms, and seize an hour of rest. The last hours of the night, and the last night of many noble lives creep on with their inevitable destiny.

On the battle field there is one exception to the general repose. On the height where Hardin's regiment is posted there is silence and busy thought, but no sleep and few idle hands. All night long both officers and men of this regiment and the Third Indiana work on the entrenchments in front of their position and of Washington's battery, strengthening and enlarging them.

Why were not other hands busy on the plateau on this portentous night? Why were not earthworks raised along the line of the ravine fronting the plateau? Why was not a battery placed at the base of the mountain and protected as that of Washington was? Having seen the design of the enemy to strike this weak point, why was all left to chance? It may be that such an effort would have drawn the fire of the enemy during the night, but if so, the Americans were in better condition to endure than the Mexicans to persevere in such a struggle. The previous night might have been employed in this way, or indeed the preceding weeks, as this was considered by the two Generals in command to be a suitable point for defence. At New Orleans nearly

three thousand British were slain, and but fourteen Americans. Why? Because the last were behind hastily constructed earthworks. Here, at Angostura, the line to be defended was short, and the time ample for such constructions as would have saved many valuable lives.

At two o'clock the American pickets were driven in, and before daylight Santa Anna had reinforced Ampudia on the mountain side with two thousand men from Lombardini's division. Stealthily, in the darkness that precedes the dawn, they climbed higher and higher, forward and forward, in their renewed attempts to outflank the American stronghold. At daylight Marshall threw out his skirmishers again, having withdrawn them on the previous evening by General Wool's orders. Immediately the fight began on the mountain, and General Wool, seeing how strong the Mexicans were there, detached two rifle companies of Bissell's regiment, two companies of Indiana riflemen, and a Texan company under command of Major Trail, to strengthen Colonel Marshall. He also ordered three pieces of Washington's battery under Lieutenant O'Brien, to a position on the left and front of the plateau, and General Lane was directed to bring forward the Second Indiana Regiment to support this battery. The contest grew more and more fierce on the mountain; Marshall, in his report of the battle, says of the riflemen under Trail who received the shock of Ampudia's heavy reinforcements: "Our men stood firm as the rocks of the mountain; they were but a handful compared with the enemy, but they yielded not an inch of ground for at least two hours, during which they *kept their front clear* within rifle-shot, though the enemy was enabled to turn their left flank, and also to push a regiment down the mountain on their right, with a view of cutting them off from the main army. At this moment, when matters were reaching extremes with my riflemen, I saw (on the plateau) a regiment of our men retreating. I had the signal sounded to recall my men."

While this was in progress on the mountain, O'Brien opened his guns on the Mexican infantry who were crossing the head of the front ravine to reinforce Ampudia. O'Brien's fire was so effective as to check this movement, and to elicit cheers from the Americans who could see the shrapnel tearing down the Mexican ranks at every flash of the well-served guns. The enemy's cannon thundered back spitefully their harmless replies. All this, occupying the earliest hours of the day, was but a prelude to the grand movement contemplated by Santa Anna.

It is nine o'clock. The Mexican General has formed his army in three great columns of attack. The first column, under General Mora

y Villamil, composed of a number of the finest regiments of the army, is ordered to move down the road and carry the La Angostura pass. A battery of eight guns has been brought forward and placed on the eminence occupied by the battalion of Leon to assist in this movement. The second column comprises Lombardini's and Pacheco's heavy infantry, which is to advance in two divisions; Lombardini's over the base of the southern hill and around the head of the front ravine to gain the plateau, while Pacheco is to push up through the ravine, and unite with Lombardini at its head, whence they are to attack in force the left of the American centre. These two divisions have each a strong supporting force of cavalry. The third column, Ampudia's light infantry, already engaged, is being strongly reinforced by regiments, who climb the mountain out of reach of O'Brien's guns. The reserves, under Ortega, remain in the rear on the road.

Let us take a birds-eye view of this well projected force, and look, also, at the Americans who will resist these heavy columns marching against their centre, the left of their centre and their left wing. Santa Anna contemptuously ignores their right wing. What American divisions do we find, and where are they? Their left wing? It is composed of a few skirmishers on the mountain. The left of their centre? It comprises three guns from Washington's battery, and General Lane's Indiana men, four hundred of them (according to his official report), on the left and front of the plateau. Their centre? Here, indeed, where the position is strongest, in and near the Pass, we find the largest body of troops. Washington's Battery, Hardin's and Bissell's regiments, and Colonel Lane's Third Indiana Regiment. On the right, where an attack is impracticable and will not be attempted, we see McKee's Kentuckians and Bragg's Battery. Davis' Mississippians and May's dragoons, with the Commander-in-Chief, have not arrived from Saltillo.

Santa Anna's columns are in motion. Villamil presses down the road toward Angostura, while the great battery on his right throws its projectiles threateningly in his advance. Washington's gunners, taking aim, wait patiently until the enemy is in range, when the roar of their guns is heard in return; the smoke conceals the foe; it lifts and whole ranks are seen prostrate. Their places are quickly filled, and again there is a steady advance to attack the battery and its supporting force; again they are repulsed, and we leave them still throwing themselves with splendid courage against the pitiless fire of Washington's guns.

Pacheco's men are also seen coming up the deep ravine. Colonel Churchill, ever watchful, warns General Lane that he must prepare to

meet a heavy force. Lane orders O'Brien's guns and his own battalions to advance. The foe press forward, four thousand strong, and pour a tremendous fire into the untried Indiana men; they meet it bravely, and fire steadily in return. O'Brien, skillfully as before, directs his pieces on the advancing front. The Indiana regiment pours volley after volley into the now slowly rising column, and again O'Brien tears away their front, destroying utterly the corps of Guanajuato; their places are not vacant, for the enemy press onward; the Indiana troops still standing firm, are enfiladed by a destructive flank fire from the Mexican battery south of the field. To save them from this fire, and because the enemy are momentarily checked by the battery, General Lane orders an advance. O'Brien immediately moves forward and opens his fire, but the infantry by some mistake in the order believe it to be "*cease firing and retreat.*" Attempting this under so murderous a fire, they become panic stricken, all order is lost; they fly in hopeless confusion, bearing with them the riflemen of Marshall, who have just been recalled from the mountain. The latter make repeated stands, and finally rally in the great ravine at the rear of the field. In vain the superior officers urge appeals and entreaties upon the stampeding Second Indiana Regiment; nothing can arrest their flight. O'Brien, left without a support, still rakes the enemy unmercifully, charging his guns with two canisters at a time, and holding stoutly to his position. The great numbers pressing onward endanger the loss of his guns. Finding that no assistance is coming, he hastily limbers up, and with two of his guns retires reluctantly from the position he vainly tried to hold. He is compelled to leave one gun in the hands of the enemy, every man and horse belonging to it being either killed or disabled. The captured gun is borne off amid shouts of victory, and the exultant foe rush unre-sisted upon the plateau. At this moment too Lombardini has brought his division around by its longer route, and it is united with Pacheco's victorious troops. Ampudia's men come pouring like a torrent down the mountain and join in hot pursuit of the flying Americans. The gallant Captain Lincoln, striving by every means at his command to arrest the frightened Indiana troops, falls mortally wounded, and the last obstacle is swept from the front and left. The Mexican cavalry rush onward along the base of the mountain, and Santa Anna compels tremendous exertions to be made to get a battery of 24 and 18-pounders established on the plateau, while the seemingly irresistible mass of infantry dash forward with the insolence of an assured victory. But standing firm near the centre of the plateau, and ready to receive them, is Bis-

sell's Second Illinois Regiment. Churchill passes swiftly along their line and exclaims, "Brave Illinoisians, you have not marched so far to be defeated!" and Bissell calls to them, "Be firm, reserve your fire!" They receive repeated volleys from the enemy's muskets before they fire a shot; then deliberately and well-directed runs the line of fire along their front. Again and again this sheet of flame drives back the impetuous foe. Still this one regiment is but a breakwater, around which the surging waves now pour, and Bissell calmly orders, "Cease firing, and retreat." Steadily they turn, and firmly march, Churchill walking his horse slowly before them, until they gain the desired position. Then Bissell speaks. They face the enemy, and again that deadly sheet of flame runs along their line, withering the foe as lightning blasts the foliage of the forest. Thomas and French, each with a gun from Sherman's battery, send their plunging fire into the closely pressing Mexicans, and Lieutenant French falls seriously wounded; still the foe press on.

The troops standing idle on the right are ordered up, and

"Bragg comes thundering to the front to breast the adverse war."

He unlimbers on the left of Bissell's men, and begins his work, driving the enemy at every discharge of his guns. McKee's Kentuckians too are hurrying up the hill at double-quick in line of battle, eager for the fight; but passing all comes Hardin with his regiment, just released from Washington's support, where the enemy is repulsed. Coming into action on the right of the Second Illinois, Hardin's men are exposed to a heavy fire on the right flank from a brigade of Mexicans, who are crossing the head of the second gorge. Hardin wheels his regiment, and leading, lifts his sword and shouts, "*Charge bayonets! Remember Illinois!*" Brave men follow; they hurl the enemy back into the gorge, then up on the other side and across the tongue of land into the last gorge, killing and wounding many; they capture two hundred prisoners and a flag of the "Active Batteries of San Luis Potosi." This is one of the most brilliant feats of a day made glorious by its minutes, each one filled with deeds of heroism. Colonel Hardin sends his prisoners to the rear, and finding himself separated from the other regiments, moves across the plateau, when Captain Bragg asks him to support his battery. This is pouring a heavy fire into the enemy's cavalry, which is struggling to get around the American left. Bragg drives them back, and Hardin presses them closely; they give way. Bragg limbers up and takes an advanced position; Hardin charges into

the supporting infantry, and they are clearing a pathway before them, when a Mexican light battery is brought within canister range, and they must again retire.

Now Taylor arrives from Saltillo, and grasps the helm to guide the ship so nearly wrecked a moment since. He takes his stand with May's dragoons on the plateau behind his line of battle, which has swung around until it faces the eastern mountain. It was at right angles with it in the beginning of the fight. But the line grows strong and firm. Sherman and Thomas, O'Brien and Bragg, the regiments of infantry alternating with the batteries, steadily hold in check column after column of heavy infantry, with which they are assaulted under cover of the 12 and 18-pounder battery Santa Anna has succeeded in fixing on the plateau at the base of the mountain. But passing rapidly behind the Mexican front of infantry press the legions of their lancers, hurrying on for a grand assault upon the extreme left of Taylor's army, where Ampudia still follows the fugitives. But as Illinois stood to stem the current in the front, so now Mississippi stands in the rear to dash it back. Davis, coming from Saltillo with Taylor, has allowed his men to stop and fill their canteens at Buena Vista, but hearing the tumult of the conflict, they hurry along the road, and approaching the field, they meet the panic stricken Indiana troops, still running towards Buena Vista. Davis rides among them, and exclaims, "Stay, and save the honor of your State! My men shall be a wall, behind which you can form in safety." His soldiers offer their canteens to all who will return; but fear and despair have seized them. Colonel Bowles, their commander, his eyes streaming with tears, grasps a musket, and calling upon them to come with him, joins the Mississippians as a private; a few rally around him, and as if the honor of their brave young State dwelt in each soul they fight with desperate valor to the close of this awful day.

Davis now sees Ampudia's light infantry in fine array marching down a broad slope, between two ravines, to gain the coveted road. An arm of the great ravine lies between them and his regiment. He throws his men in line of battle, and advances at double-quick, and as they near the small ravine he orders, "*Halt, and fire!*" then, "*Fire advancing!*" That fire is deadly; the enemy is checked. This does not satisfy the Mississippians. They start again, dash down the ravine, are lost to view, now rise in even waves along its farther crest; again the order, "*Fire advancing!*" The enemy are routed; they fall back hopelessly on their reserves.

While this is in progress the contest on the plateau continues with undiminished vigor under the immediate orders of the two Commanders-in-Chief, Taylor and Santa Anna. The American infantry and artillery hold in check the Mexican centre column, which, reinforced, still strives to clear the great plateau. Santa Anna's personal guard, the renowned Hussars, under his own eye, perform prodigies of valor. Now here, now there, they strive to penetrate the defences of the valley road, which, secured by the Mexicans, will ensure the capture of Taylor's army. But daring feats and overwhelming numbers are unavailing, for still that little army, like a ship obedient to the pilot's will, holds its course between the mountain and the road; though surging on waves of blood and sometimes of despair, it keeps its channel, and will not be wrecked on rock or reef.

As the fire of Davis' riflemen abates, General Taylor hears a tumult and rapid firing still farther to the left, and near Buena Vista. He orders May's dragoons and Reynolds, with two pieces of artillery, to give assistance there. Before they reach the hacienda, Tarrejon's brigade of lancers are charging on Marshall's Kentucky and Yell's Arkansas mounted men, who have been hastily drawn in line to receive them. They do not wait for the Mexican advance, but charge at the same time; the contending forces meet with the terrible clash, the hand to hand encounter and the carnage of an ancient knightly contest. General Tarrejon is desperately wounded; Colonel Yell is slain in the very first onset; Captain Porter falls mortally wounded, and the accomplished young Vaughn is pierced by a score of lance wounds, many of them mortal; Mexicans and Americans now mingle in inextricable confusion as they dash along the road towards the hacienda. There Trail and Gorman form their companies of infantry to resist the lancers. This is done successfully, and they are driven back upon the remainder of their brigade, now retreating to the Mexican lines. May and Reynolds come up in time to open fire and make this flight precipitous.

While this is in progress at Buena Vista another brigade of cavalry concentrates on the slope, where Davis had repulsed Ampudia. The Mississippians are now reinforced by Colonel Lane's Third Indiana Regiment, and one howitzer under Sherman. The Mexican cavalry come on with an evident intention to charge the regiments. Davis advances in line of battle across the slope, and stands to receive them. He orders the Indiana regiment into line of battle on his right along the edge of the ravine; the two battalions forming a reentering, obtuse angle—almost a V—which will inflict a cross-fire on the foe. Sherman's howitzer is on the left.

"The enemy was formed in close columns of squadrons, and came down the slope at an easy hand gallop. His ranks were closed, his troopers riding knee to knee, and dressing handsomely on their guides; all the flags and pennons were flying; the men, fifteen hundred in number, in full uniform, and the horses elegantly caparisoned; every lancer sat erect and kept his charger well in hand. Those fine fellows were the chivalry of Mexico." The brigade swept onward, evidently believing they could draw the fire of the Americans while out of range, then dashing on overwhelm by their weight and rapidity the small lines before them. But the Americans stand with shouldered arms like statues. Davis' low, firm tones glide along the lines, "*Don't shoot! don't shoot!*" The men catch his spirit, and wait until the game is near. The horsemen hesitate; they halt, appalled by this silent, unmoved front. It is no time for hesitation; they are already in range. The rifles reverberate along one line, and simultaneously the muskets *roll* volley along the other, their balls converging in a murderous focus on those proud Spanish hearts. Riderless the blooded horses dash away, for the whole line is destroyed. Before they form again, Sherman's howitzer is tearing through their centre; they turn and fly towards the mountain.

Davis and Lane now cooperate with May and Reynolds, returned from Buena Vista. They are driving the Mexicans steadily back from that quarter. May, with his dragoons, charging again and again, pushes them onward towards Santa Anna's main army. Bragg turns his guns upon the Mexicans between May and Davis. Every piece of American artillery is now playing with rapidity upon the wavering line of the enemy. May is charging at furious speed upon his right flank, and the infantry, inflamed to the highest pitch of excitement, outdo the deeds of the morning. Hardin on the plateau first sees the *black flag* wave over the Mexican line, and pointing it out, says quietly to the officers near him: "See, it comes to victory or death." But soon it catches other eyes, and the cry, "*Victory or death!*" runs along the American lines. More terrible grows the charge of the dragoons; more stern and firm the aim of the riflemen; more rapid and determined the rolling volleys of musketry. The roaring of the cannonade is awful beyond conception, and, to increase its terrors, a violent tempest of hail and rain, with vivid flashes of lightning and appalling claps of thunder, sweeps through the valley. The Americans give no heed to the storm; they redouble their efforts. Santa Anna's horse is killed; the rider is borne down, and—Victory! victory! his line is broken. Off his columns swerve, one flying back under his great battery, and the other driven towards his staggering right wing.

Exultant shouts ring out amid the storm. Six thousand Mexicans are huddled together like sheep in a tempest separated from their shepherd. The Americans need make but one more effort, and the field is won.

But Santa Anna, wiley and quick now lays his plan and acts. What cares he for reasons; the case is desperate. He does not wait to frame a reason for a FLAG OF TRUCE, but sends it meteor-like across the stormy clouds of that dark field. The shadow of his *black flag*, even now waving high, should have turned this one gray in Taylor's eyes; but the old soldier's honest vision sees all things in its own white light. He receives the flag. His order runs along the line, "*Cease firing!*" But the rumbling of the Spanish guns still shakes the air. The captains of artillery know their leader, Santa Anna, too well to obey the signal of his white flag. Let an officer who was present tell the story: "Four Mexican officers, at their utmost speed, came galloping towards us. Colonel McKee, Clay, Bissell and myself advanced some sixty yards to meet them. It was with great difficulty we could restrain our men from firing upon them, as they believed it was a *ruse*. They asked for General Taylor, and Colonel Clay accompanied the Aid of General Santa Anna to General Taylor. While the Aid was delivering his message to the General, I asked one of them who appeared highest in rank, 'What is the object of your mission?' He answered in Spanish, and as we did not appear to understand him, repeated in French that 'General Santa Anna wishes to know what General Taylor wants?' He said it with such an air of unconcern that we all broke into a loud laugh." General Taylor, however, received the message seriously, and sent General Wool to confer with Santa Anna.

Wool started on his mission, but finding that the Mexicans did not cease their fire, he returned without meeting Santa Anna, and the battle was renewed on both sides; not, however, until incalculable mischief had been done to the Americans, whose advantages so hardly won during the last few hours were thus sacrificed. From the right wing of the Mexican army a flag had also been sent and Captain Crittenden, General Taylor's Aid, replied to it with a white flag from the American lines; the treachery of the foe was now consummated, for as Crittenden entered the surging, disorderly mass of Mexicans who composed their disjointed wing, they pressed rapidly on towards their main army, bearing him and the flag with them. Bragg had these troops under his guns, when, as he says in his official report, "a white flag rapidly passed me and I

ceased my fire; the enemy seized the opportunity, availed themselves of the protection of our flag of truce, and drew off beyond the range of our guns."

The moment for complete victory was gone forever. The right wing of Santa Anna's army united with the centre, and the whole force continued its retreat along the base of the mountain on the plateau. General Taylor was again deceived, for he believed this to be a genuine flight, which could be made precipitate; he determined to seize the battery which covered the retreat. Accordingly, Captain Chilton dashed up to Colonel Hardin, who was near Bragg's battery, and said, "Colonel, you are wanted for a charge; hurry, or you will be too late!" "Then," writes an officer who was present, "the gallant Hardin, the soul of bravery, advanced to charge the enemy's cannon, under cover of which he was retreating." The American batteries open their line for the brave Illinoisians to rush through at a run. Again the stentorian voice of Hardin rings out, exclaiming: "*We will take that battery! Charge bayonets! Remember Illinois!*" as he leads the way. Quickly after McKee and Clay follow; then, a little later, Bissell and his men; nearly all the light troops are now in close pursuit of the retreating foe; he flies before them; his curses and execrations, mingled with the shouts of the pursuers, fill the air; and thus leading the charge, Hardin, McKee and Clay, kinsmen and gallant gentlemen, dash on to their fate! No eye behind them to see their danger, and draw them from the fatal gorge! no General to see the hosts of the enemy rising on their flank from out of the great ravine! Where was General Taylor, the Commander-in-Chief? Where was General Wool, the second in command? Where was the brave and thoughtful Churchill? There is no reply. Read the official reports of the battle, that of Taylor, of Wool, of Lane, of every Colonel and Captain, and even Lieutenant who had charge of a detachment of troops. But one solitary sentence fills this fateful gap in that eventful day. General Taylor says, "The enemy seemed to confine his efforts to the protection of his batteries, and *I had left the plateau for a moment* when I was recalled by a heavy volley of musketry fire." This is all we are told, "*I had left the plateau for a moment.*" At a critical moment an important order is given which must seriously affect the fortunes of the day, yet no superior officer watches its result. General Wool in his report ignores the whole movement, and writes as if O'Brien's guns had been captured before the infantry was destroyed in this disastrous movement. The whereabouts of the two Generals for *many* minutes, is a mere matter of surmise.

Santa Anna's *ruse* did not end with the recovery of his broken column, nor did he "confine his operations to the defense of his batteries." He was busy concentrating the entire remains of the force which had been engaged during the day, and uniting it with his large body of reserves, fresh and eager, for one final effort to recover the losses of the afternoon. He says, in his official report, "I directed Perez and Pacheco (Lombardini was wounded) to be prepared for an extreme struggle; I informed Villamil of my disposition." He put the whole force under Perez, that it might come down, like a sledge hammer, in single powerful strokes; he directed these blows in person.

With keen, shrewd glance Santa Anna surveys the field; he sees the impetuous Illinois men nearing his great battery, the Kentuckians following closely, and, not far distant, Bissell's regiment; O'Brien's guns are far behind, and one gun with Thomas is still more distant; not another soldier, not a general on the field.

A terrific fire was immediately opened on the right flank of Hardin's regiment, who was at the same moment attacked violently in front; the regiment changed its charge to a destructive fire, and vigorously resisted this attack; then McKee and Bissell, with their troops, hurried forward to assist, and the three united regiments charged into the Mexican ranks, "and," says an officer of Bissell's regiment, "again our spirits rose; the enemy appeared thoroughly routed; Hardin's regiment and McKee's Kentuckians were foremost; and while the Mexican regiments were flying before us, suddenly, as if by magic, they rallied and returned upon us, led by Santa Anna in person. They came in myriads, and for a while the carnage was dreadful; we were but a handful to oppose the mass that was hurled upon us, and could as easily have resisted an avalanche of thunderbolts." Hardin said sternly to those near him, "We will have to go," and a moment after an Aide-de-Camp from General Taylor came with an order to retreat. They retired, fighting as men fight for life—

Knew well the watchword of the day
Was, 'Victory or death!'

In their retreat they reached the edge of the second gorge, the banks were precipitous, rocky and covered with loose, pebbly stones; it was narrow and more than fifty feet in depth, coming to a sharp angle at the bottom. Once in this pit, there was no chance to load and fire, but the soldiers clubbed their muskets and kept up the desperate struggle as they could. The Mexicans had enveloped the crest of the gorge,

and were pouring down its sides in all directions; and, writes one who was there, 'on our side all was hushed into deadly silence, except the voice of Hardin; wounded in the thigh he had fallen, but was endeavoring to draw his pistol, and still he shouted to his men, '*Remember Illinois!*' These tones rang in my ears for many days and nights afterwards, '*Remember Illinois! Remember Illinois!*'"

McKee was killed first and quickly. Clay, like Hardin, was wounded in the leg, and had fallen, when a dozen lancers rushed upon him, and pierced him with as many wounds. Hardin succeeded in firing his pistol, and a Mexican fell under the shot, but another bullet pierced him in the neck, and five lance wounds were found in his body. Here also fell Captains Zabriskie and Willis, eight Lieutenants and many men.

For a time the entire destruction of the regiments seemed inevitable, for a corps of Mexican cavalry charged down the road towards Angostura, and were closing the opening of the gorge upon the road, the last avenue of escape, but Washington's guns were opened on them with the same vigor and precision of aim that had marked his repulse of the first column in the morning, and with the same effect. The Mexican troops were driven back, and the remnants of the slaughtered regiments came running down the road towards the Pass.

In the meantime the last great struggle was in progress on the plateau. General Taylor's highest and greatest qualities were now brought into action, and the crafty Santa Anna shrunk into insignificance before the sturdy American

When the infantry had been overwhelmed, O'Brien, left alone with his guns, saw that if he retreated to save them, the enemy, now pressing rapidly toward the height above the Pass, would carry the plateau and reach that point before assistance arrived. He already heard the rumbling of Bragg's and Sherman's batteries approaching on the left, and, says Captain Carleton, "His decision under the circumstances was stamped with more of heroism than any other one act of the war. *He elected to lose his guns!*" and he continues: "Still onward came the Mexicans. O'Brien's men were fast falling around him, he was himself wounded; already two horses had been killed under him, and a third was bleeding. He looked back and saw that the troops in his rear were now nearly up, and encouraged his handful of men to continue their exertions. Still the Mexicans came on, and were now almost up to the guns, which were pouring into them canisters on canisters of musket shot. O'Brien looked back once more, and, thank God! Bragg's

battery, which was leading, was at that moment coming into action. Sherman and the dragoons were following rapidly up, while Davis and Lane were bringing their infantry out of the last deep ravine upon the plateau. His pieces were nearly loaded again; it was slow work, the four or five men about him being weak from loss of blood. But he was determined to give the Mexicans one more round; he did so, and then he and the few crippled fellows who survived the carnage hobbled away."

While the Mexicans nearest the guns closed around them and rolled them away, the others continued rapidly on, running towards the position occupied by the Commander-in-Chief. Bragg, who was near him, had just unlimbered his guns, and appealed to Taylor for support. There was none to give, and the General replied sternly, "*Maintain the position at all hazards!*" The order was heroically executed, and the withering fire of that famous battery forced the enemy to recoil. Then Sherman came and wheeled up on the left, and at the same instant Washington's guns are heard as they rescue the infantry near the Pass. Davis and Lane, with their exhausted soldiers, come running over the ravines with trailed arms to take part in the struggle. They have no need for orders; the awful roar of artillery and rattle of small arms, and as they gain the field the bearing of the intrepid Taylor, intimate the efforts they must make. Immediately "they pour volley after volley of musketry into the enemy, striking him in flank, and enfilading his repeated ranks from right to left. The struggle is most desperate, the whole air vibrates with the rushing current of balls. The Mexicans fight as they never fought before, and in utter disregard of life. General Taylor is in the hottest of the fight, giving orders, his clothes torn and riddled with bullets, and General Wool rides from point to point, encouraging and stimulating the men." These, "diminished in numbers, grow greater in heart." The artillery is served with greater rapidity and effect than before, and the culminating efforts of the Indiana and Mississippi regiments are full of tragic daring. They stand alone, holding back the last frantic efforts of the enemy to again turn the left. They hold their ground, and the Mexicans give way.

General Taylor was now satisfied with the triumph of repulse, and made no further attempt to capture "the battery under cover of which the enemy was retreating," and which still held its place on the plateau. The smoke, which had enveloped the two armies, lifted slowly up, and "there was the field blue with the uniforms of the dead."

While this last struggle was in progress on the field of battle, Gen-

eral Miñon, with his strong force of cavalry had approached the road near Saltillo, between that place and Buena Vista, and succeeded in capturing a number of stragglers from the field. Lieutenant Donaldson, with one piece of artillery and one company of the Second Illinois Regiment, advanced from the city to meet Miñon. Donaldson was joined by Lieutenant Shrover with a howitzer, and together they boldly attacked the cavalry, drove them three miles on the road, and finally pushed them so severely as to compel a rapid retreat from the valley, and thus communication was reestablished with the battle-field.

At La Angostura, as the sun sank behind the mountains, the scattering fire of artillery on both sides gradually subsided. The two armies stood on almost the same ground they had respectively occupied on the previous night. They were still regarding each other sternly, face to face. On the American side preparations were made to resist, if an attack should be attempted by the Mexicans during the night. A close line of sentinels was stretched along the front, the few fresh companies at Saltillo were brought forward, and the wounded were sent back to the city in wagons. The troops on the field were supplied with food and water without moving from the positions.

The hours of the cold bleak night crept slowly over the American army, shivering and sorrowing; the losses they had sustained were those of friends and brothers, and victory was not yet assured.

At Buena Vista General Taylor and General Wool occupied the same tent. Wool was employed all night in issuing orders and making preparations for the ensuing day. At early dawn, with an Aid-de-Camp, he rode out to reconnoitre the position of the Mexicans, and only found the prostrate army of the dead and dying. He galloped hastily back and announced the flight of the enemy. "Then it was that a sound went along the lines ever to be remembered. It was but a single cry at first, then a murmur which rose and swelled on the ear like the voice of a trumpet, then a prolonged and thrilling shout: '*Victory! Victory! Victory! The enemy has fled! The field is ours!*'"

General Taylor and General Wool now, with an escort, made a careful reconnoissance as far as Encantada. "The scene through which they passed was dreadful. All the Americans who had fallen were stripped of their clothing, and gashed with wounds evidently inflicted after death; the Mexicans lay just as they had fallen. The plateau was covered with the dead, and the gorges were filled with them, the ground reeking with blood."

As Taylor's soldiers passed cautiously among them, there were no

living Americans to appeal for aid ; but many piteous cries came from the suffering Mexicans, and many a strong hand trembled that was compassionately stretched across the body of a comrade to succor a living foe.

From Encantada General Taylor sent Major Bliss, with an escort of dragoons, to negotiate with Santa Anna for an exchange of prisoners; about three hundred had been taken. At Agua Nueva this was effected, and on the 26th of February the exchange was made. The Mexicans had lost two thousand in killed and wounded.

At Buena Vista and La Angostura the Americans spent all of the 24th and 25th of February in collecting and burying the dead.

" Full many a Northern breath has swept
O'er Angostura's plain—
And long the pitying sky has wept
Above its mouldering slain.
The raven's scream, or eagle's flight,
Or shepherd's pensive lay,
Alone awake each sullen height
That frowned on that dread fray.

" The muffled drum's sad roll has beat
The soldier's last tattoo !
No more in life's parade will meet
That brave and fallen few.
On Fame's eternal camping ground
Their silent tents are spread,
And Glory guards with solemn round
The Bivouac of the dead."

ELLEN HARDIN WALWORTH

THE CASE OF MAJOR ANDRÉ

The circumstances connected with the arrest of Major André, and the correspondence carried on with different parties in connection with his trial and execution as a spy, are familiar to readers of American history. During the past few years much has been written on an event so generally deplored. All the circumstances bearing upon it have been most carefully examined. The justice and humanity of the course taken with the unhappy victim of the chances of war have been freely discussed and a decision reached, which no new light to be thrown on the subject by further investigation will be likely to alter. There is probably not much difference of opinion as to General Washington's sincerity of belief that André was a spy, and justly amenable to death as such. But, as might have been expected, the course which he pursued was severely criticised by English writers.

In the John Carter Brown Library at Providence there is a small volume, entitled,

"The Case of Major John André, Adjutant General to the British Army, who was put to death by the Rebels, October 2nd, 1780, candidly represented, with remarks on said case. "If there were no other Brand upon this Odious and Accursed Civil War than that single Loss, it must be most infamous and execrable to all Posterity." Lord Clarendon. New York. J. Rivington, 1780." The sentence within the quotation marks is taken from Lord Clarendon's History of the Eng. Rebellion and *appropriated* to this compendium.

I find no allusion to this little book in the foot note in Bancroft's History, in which he gives his authorities for his account of the André affair, nor in Sargent's Life of André. Sabin refers to it, under the head of André, in his "Catalogue of Books, No. 1453," but gives no account of its contents. Rich also mentions it, No. 47, 1780, and Bartlett, Vol. II., Part III., p. 158. The copy in the Brown Library is evidently a proof. Several of the pages are not printed upon, and there are numerous corrections by the proof reader.

The pamphlet is a small quarto of twenty-eight pages, there being not far from eight hundred words to the page. The preface is as follows:

"The Public was much distressed at Major Andre's Death ; and by that Dis-

Santa Anna's *ruse* did not end with the recovery of his broken column, nor did he "confine his operations to the defense of his batteries." He was busy concentrating the entire remains of the force which had been engaged during the day, and uniting it with his large body of reserves, fresh and eager, for one final effort to recover the losses of the afternoon. He says, in his official report, "I directed Perez and Pacheco (Lombardini was wounded) to be prepared for an extreme struggle; I informed Villamil of my disposition." He put the whole force under Perez, that it might come down, like a sledge hammer, in single powerful strokes; he directed these blows in person.

With keen, shrewd glance Santa Anna surveys the field; he sees the impetuous Illinois men nearing his great battery, the Kentuckians following closely, and, not far distant, Bissell's regiment; O'Brien's guns are far behind, and one gun with Thomas is still more distant; not another soldier, not a general on the field.

A terrific fire was immediately opened on the right flank of Hardin's regiment, who was at the same moment attacked violently in front; the regiment changed its charge to a destructive fire, and vigorously resisted this attack; then McKee and Bissell, with their troops, hurried forward to assist, and the three united regiments charged into the Mexican ranks, "and," says an officer of Bissell's regiment, "again our spirits rose; the enemy appeared thoroughly routed; Hardin's regiment and McKee's Kentuckians were foremost; and while the Mexican regiments were flying before us, suddenly, as if by magic, they rallied and returned upon us, led by Santa Anna in person. They came in myriads, and for a while the carnage was dreadful; we were but a handful to oppose the mass that was hurled upon us, and could as easily have resisted an avalanche of thunderbolts." Hardin said sternly to those near him, "We will have to go," and a moment after an Aid-de-Camp from General Taylor came with an order to retreat. They retired, fighting as men fight for life—

Knew well the watchword of the day
Was, 'Victory or death!'

In their retreat they reached the edge of the second gorge, the banks were precipitous, rocky and covered with loose, pebbly stones; it was narrow and more than fifty feet in depth, coming to a sharp angle at the bottom. Once in this pit, there was no chance to load and fire, but the soldiers clubbed their muskets and kept up the desperate struggle as they could. The Mexicans had enveloped the crest of the gorge,

and were pouring down its sides in all directions ; and, writes one who was there, ' on our side all was hushed into deadly silence, except the voice of Hardin ; wounded in the thigh he had fallen, but was endeavoring to draw his pistol, and still he shouted to his men, '*Remember Illinois !*' These tones rang in my ears for many days and nights afterwards, '*Remember Illinois ! Remember Illinois !*' "

McKee was killed first and quickly. Clay, like Hardin, was wounded in the leg, and had fallen, when a dozen lancers rushed upon him, and pierced him with as many wounds. Hardin succeeded in firing his pistol, and a Mexican fell under the shot, but another bullet pierced him in the neck, and five lance wounds were found in his body. Here also fell Captains Zabriskie and Willis, eight Lieutenants and many men.

For a time the entire destruction of the regiments seemed inevitable, for a corps of Mexican cavalry charged down the road towards Angostura, and were closing the opening of the gorge upon the road, the last avenue of escape, but Washington's guns were opened on them with the same vigor and precision of aim that had marked his repulse of the first column in the morning, and with the same effect. The Mexican troops were driven back, and the remnants of the slaughtered regiments came running down the road towards the Pass.

In the meantime the last great struggle was in progress on the plateau. General Taylor's highest and greatest qualities were now brought into action, and the crafty Santa Anna shrunk into insignificance before the sturdy American

When the infantry had been overwhelmed, O'Brien, left alone with his guns, saw that if he retreated to save them, the enemy, now pressing rapidly toward the height above the Pass, would carry the plateau and reach that point before assistance arrived. He already heard the rumbling of Bragg's and Sherman's batteries approaching on the left, and, says Captain Carleton, "His decision under the circumstances was stamped with more of heroism than any other one act of the war. *He elected to lose his guns !*" and he continues: "Still onward came the Mexicans. O'Brien's men were fast falling around him, he was himself wounded ; already two horses had been killed under him, and a third was bleeding. He looked back and saw that the troops in his rear were now nearly up, and encouraged his handful of men to continue their exertions. Still the Mexicans came on, and were now almost up to the guns, which were pouring into them canisters on canisters of musket shot. O'Brien looked back once more, and, thank God ! Bragg's

battery, which was leading, was at that moment coming into action. Sherman and the dragoons were following rapidly up, while Davis and Lane were bringing their infantry out of the last deep ravine upon the plateau. His pieces were nearly loaded again; it was slow work, the four or five men about him being weak from loss of blood. But he was determined to give the Mexicans one more round; he did so, and then he and the few crippled fellows who survived the carnage hobbled away."

While the Mexicans nearest the guns closed around them and rolled them away, the others continued rapidly on, running towards the position occupied by the Commander-in-Chief. Bragg, who was near him, had just unlimbered his guns, and appealed to Taylor for support. There was none to give, and the General replied sternly, "*Maintain the position at all hazards!*" The order was heroically executed, and the withering fire of that famous battery forced the enemy to recoil. Then Sherman came and wheeled up on the left, and at the same instant Washington's guns are heard as they rescue the infantry near the Pass. Davis and Lane, with their exhausted soldiers, come running over the ravines with trailed arms to take part in the struggle. They have no need for orders; the awful roar of artillery and rattle of small arms, and as they gain the field the bearing of the intrepid Taylor, intimate the efforts they must make. Immediately "they pour volley after volley of musketry into the enemy, striking him in flank, and enfilading his repeated ranks from right to left. The struggle is most desperate, the whole air vibrates with the rushing current of balls. The Mexicans fight as they never fought before, and in utter disregard of life. General Taylor is in the hottest of the fight, giving orders, his clothes torn and riddled with bullets, and General Wool rides from point to point, encouraging and stimulating the men." These, "diminished in numbers, grow greater in heart." The artillery is served with greater rapidity and effect than before, and the culminating efforts of the Indiana and Mississippi regiments are full of tragic daring. They stand alone, holding back the last frantic efforts of the enemy to again turn the left. They hold their ground, and the Mexicans give way.

General Taylor was now satisfied with the triumph of repulse, and made no further attempt to capture "the battery under cover of which the enemy was retreating," and which still held its place on the plateau. The smoke, which had enveloped the two armies, lifted slowly up, and "there was the field blue with the uniforms of the dead."

While this last struggle was in progress on the field of battle, Gen-

eral Miñon, with his strong force of cavalry had approached the road near Saltillo, between that place and Buena Vista, and succeeded in capturing a number of stragglers from the field. Lieutenant Donaldson, with one piece of artillery and one company of the Second Illinois Regiment, advanced from the city to meet Miñon. Donaldson was joined by Lieutenant Shrover with a howitzer, and together they boldly attacked the cavalry, drove them three miles on the road, and finally pushed them so severely as to compel a rapid retreat from the valley, and thus communication was reestablished with the battle-field.

At La Angostura, as the sun sank behind the mountains, the scattering fire of artillery on both sides gradually subsided. The two armies stood on almost the same ground they had respectively occupied on the previous night. They were still regarding each other sternly, face to face. On the American side preparations were made to resist, if an attack should be attempted by the Mexicans during the night. A close line of sentinels was stretched along the front, the few fresh companies at Saltillo were brought forward, and the wounded were sent back to the city in wagons. The troops on the field were supplied with food and water without moving from the positions.

The hours of the cold bleak night crept slowly over the American army, shivering and sorrowing; the losses they had sustained were those of friends and brothers, and victory was not yet assured.

At Buena Vista General Taylor and General Wool occupied the same tent. Wool was employed all night in issuing orders and making preparations for the ensuing day. At early dawn, with an Aid-de-Camp, he rode out to reconnoitre the position of the Mexicans, and only found the prostrate army of the dead and dying. He galloped hastily back and announced the flight of the enemy. "Then it was that a sound went along the lines ever to be remembered. It was but a single cry at first, then a murmur which rose and swelled on the ear like the voice of a trumpet, then a prolonged and thrilling shout: '*Victory! Victory! Victory! The enemy has fled! The field is ours!*'"

General Taylor and General Wool now, with an escort, made a careful reconnaissance as far as Encantada. "The scene through which they passed was dreadful. All the Americans who had fallen were stripped of their clothing, and gashed with wounds evidently inflicted after death; the Mexicans lay just as they had fallen. The plateau was covered with the dead, and the gorges were filled with them, the ground reeking with blood."

As Taylor's soldiers passed cautiously among them, there were no

living Americans to appeal for aid ; but many piteous cries came from the suffering Mexicans, and many a strong hand trembled that was compassionately stretched across the body of a comrade to succor a living foe.

From Encantada General Taylor sent Major Bliss, with an escort of dragoons, to negotiate with Santa Anna for an exchange of prisoners ; about three hundred had been taken. At Agua Nueva this was effected, and on the 26th of February the exchange was made. The Mexicans had lost two thousand in killed and wounded.

At Buena Vista and La Angostura the Americans spent all of the 24th and 25th of February in collecting and burying the dead.

" Full many a Northern breath has swept
O'er Angostura's plain—
And long the pitying sky has wept
Above its mouldering slain.
The raven's scream, or eagle's flight,
Or shepherd's pensive lay,
Alone awake each sullen height
That frowned on that dread fray.

" The muffled drum's sad roll has beat
The soldier's last tattoo !
No more in life's parade will meet
That brave and fallen few.
On Fame's eternal camping ground
Their silent tents are spread,
And Glory guards with solemn round
The Bivouac of the dead."

ELLEN HARDIN WALWORTH

THE CASE OF MAJOR ANDRÉ

The circumstances connected with the arrest of Major André, and the correspondence carried on with different parties in connection with his trial and execution as a spy, are familiar to readers of American history. During the past few years much has been written on an event so generally deplored. All the circumstances bearing upon it have been most carefully examined. The justice and humanity of the course taken with the unhappy victim of the chances of war have been freely discussed and a decision reached, which no new light to be thrown on the subject by further investigation will be likely to alter. There is probably not much difference of opinion as to General Washington's sincerity of belief that André was a spy, and justly amenable to death as such. But, as might have been expected, the course which he pursued was severely criticised by English writers.

In the John Carter Brown Library at Providence there is a small volume, entitled,

"The Case of Major John André, Adjutant General to the British Army, who was put to death by the Rebels, October 2nd, 1780, candidly represented, with remarks on said case. "If there were no other Brand upon this Odious and Accursed Civil War than that single Loss, it must be most infamous and execrable to all Posterity." Lord Clarendon. New York. J. Rivington, 1780." The sentence within the quotation marks is taken from Lord Clarendon's History of the Eng. Rebellion and *appropriated* to this compendium.

I find no allusion to this little book in the foot note in Bancroft's History, in which he gives his authorities for his account of the André affair, nor in Sargent's Life of André. Sabin refers to it, under the head of André, in his "Catalogue of Books, No. 1453," but gives no account of its contents. Rich also mentions it, No. 47, 1780, and Bartlett, Vol. II., Part III., p. 158. The copy in the Brown Library is evidently a proof. Several of the pages are not printed upon, and there are numerous corrections by the proof reader.

The pamphlet is a small quarto of twenty-eight pages, there being not far from eight hundred words to the page. The preface is as follows:

"The Public was much distressed at Major Andre's Death ; and by that Dis-

treasury gave the highest Testimony of his Merit. The Inhabitants within the British Lines were equally affected with the Army; whilst their joint Indignation manifestly showed the general sense of the Injustice and Inhumanity with which that amiable and gallant Officer was treated by the Rebels. Those who were so much interested in his Behalf, are probably desirous of seeing his Case properly stated. This is done in the following Papers.

"The Letters that were written during the Transactions, which proved so fatal to Major Andre, will best elucidate his Views and Conduct. Those Letters accordingly are here produced with other Papers subservient to the same Purpose. The several Events, as they rose, are also connected in a regular Series, and Facts are fairly represented. Justice to Major Andre's Memory required that these Matters should be placed in a true Light, especially as the Account of his Case and Trial, lately published by the Rebels (which is very imperfect and partial), evidently tends to tarnish his Character, as well as to justify, or at least to palliate, their barbarous Treatment of him. To relate Truth is in this, as in many other Cases, the same as to refute Falsehood and Misrepresentation.

—"The Remarks that are subjoined were naturally suggested by the several Facts; they throw Light upon the Subject, and the intelligent Reader will perceive that they, and the conclusions which accompany them, are fairly deducible from the Premises alluded to in each instance.

New York, Nov. 28, 1780.

Taking for granted that the number of persons who have any knowledge of this book is extremely limited, it may gratify curiosity to see how those who regarded the conduct of Washington as unjustifiable, reasoned. A most strenuous effort is made to prove that André was not a spy, because he held passports under the signature of Major-General Arnold, who, at the time he gave them, was the recognized commanding officer of the Military Department. In reply to the assertion that Major André had no flag of truce flying when he went ashore, it is urged that the boat indeed might not have had a white flag displayed, but the reason was that they went in the night, when a white flag could not be seen, and was therefore useless. The following questions are asked: Did not General Arnold command there at the time? While he was possessed of his command, had he not a right to issue his orders? Were not his orders and authority a just warrant and protection for Major André? And did they not exclude every idea of a spy? The writer declares that there was not only much precipitancy in the execution of André, but "a vein of duplicity runs through the whole of the rebel proceedings." General Green had declared at the Conference at Dobb's Ferry, "that the army must be satisfied by seeing

spies executed." The reply is: "It appears from the testimony of several rebel officers, who were present at the execution, and of other spectators, that the rebel army in general was much disgusted and distressed at putting Major André to death. Many of the rebel soldiers melted into tears." It is charged against General Washington that he prejudged the case, and called upon his officers, before any military court had examined into it, to report the punishment that ought to be inflicted. Wishing, however, to have others share with him the odium connected with the execution of André, for form's sake, he called a council of general officers, who were "willing instruments for his purpose." "Some people," says the writer, "in the transports of rage or disappointment, or in some emergency, will do what they would shudder at in the calm hour of reflection; but commend me to the man who, with affected moderation, steady tranquility, and cool deliberation, can do what no rage, however violent, no emergency, however trying, can justify." He asserts "that General Washington should be considered as the Murderer of Major André. The execution has fixed an indelible stain on his character—a stain which no time can efface. The reflection that he doomed this innocent and worthy gentleman to death, merely to serve the views of ambition and policy, must embitter all his future enjoyments." He then proceeds to show that the execution of André, apparently by the authority of one man, was a part of an avowed policy to concentrate more power in the hands of a single individual. "Who can, with more propriety, or greater probability of success, look up for an investiture in that authority, power or administration, whether under the name of King, Protector or Dictator, than General Washington himself? In these times, however, when so many are shaken in their attachment to Congress by the pressure of calamities, that are still increasing, and by the prospect of inevitable ruin and slavery to America on the rebel plan; it was necessary for General Washington to give the Congress, and the determined rebels out of Congress, on whom he more depends, the fullest proof of his firm adherence to their cause. It might also be convenient to create a further necessity for the office of King or Dictator by pushing matters to greater extremities. Now what can be conceived more happily adapted to all these purposes than the putting Major Andre, Adjutant General of the British Army, to death?"

This is a specimen of the style of arguments to which those who condemned the execution of André resorted. In the light of history it is seen how specious was the reasoning. Some of the ablest English

jurists, like Romilly, have decided that by the laws of war, General Washington was fully justified in the step which he took; André was a spy who knew that Arnold was a traitor, and treated with him as such. He ran the great risk of losing his life when he set forth on the dangerous errand which he undertook. Success would have been followed by promotion and a rich pecuniary reward. He was not successful, and he paid the forfeit, which he had just reason to believe would be sure to follow failure. We mourn the death of an amiable British officer, who fell while in the discharge of what he conceived to be his duty, but we find no stain on the character of General Washington.

J. C. STOCKBRIDGE

NOTE.—The fact mentioned by Mr. Stockbridge that the copy of this pamphlet is evidently a *proof* copy, taken in connection with the absence of any notice or advertisement of it by Rivington in his Royal Gazette, as was his invariable rule with all publications printed by him during the war, leads to the natural supposition that it was suppressed by Sir Henry Clinton.

It contains the correspondence occasioned by the conference between Clinton's commissioner, General Robertson, and Washington's representative, General Greene, at Dobbs' Ferry, which was printed by Sargent in his *Life of André* from the original manuscript narrative of Sir Henry Clinton, in the State Paper Office, London, as yet unpublished, as well as the text of the letter of Greene to Robertson, written on the morning of the execution, which has not appeared elsewhere in full.

It seems probable, therefore, as Clinton permitted no mention of the *execution* of André to be made in the New York papers, and no other notice than his general orders of the 8th, read to the army, which only announce the *death* of André, that he was unwilling to have the pamphlet appear, but whether from personal or public reasons it is difficult to decide. Was he unwilling to have the publication of his own report, which he sent to the Government, with all the attending documents, anticipated by this pamphlet, containing the papers? or was he unwilling to permit such severe aspersions upon the motives of Washington to be printed under his sanction? His own report or narrative has not as yet been printed; a copy from the British archives is in the possession of the writer.

On the 1st of November, 1780, Rivington advertised the publication that day, at eleven o'clock (price two shillings), of "Proceedings of a Board of Rebel Officers, held by order of his Excellency General Washington, Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the United States of America, respecting Major John André, Adjutant General of the British Army, September 29, 1780." On the 8th he reprinted from the Pennsylvania Gazette of the 25th October the "Letter from a gentleman at Camp to his friend in Philadelphia," which was generally and justly attributed at the time to Colonel Hamilton, appending to it the following foot note: "*The foregoing is a manufacture of Rebel Subtlety, of which more hereafter. Then Audite alteram partem;*" from which it is reasonable to infer that Rivington was about to print the *other side*. This letter is alluded to by the writer of the pamphlet, and by him "supposed to be Col. Hamilton's."

If the copy in the Brown Library is *unique*, the suppression by Clinton is highly probable, and the reasons for that suppression are a subject of extreme interest, taken in connection with the like suppression in the New York papers of every incident connected with André's mission, capture, execution, and burial. The clue to the mystery has not yet been found.

EDITOR

THE SEVENTY-SIX STONE-HOUSE AT TAPPAN

The recent erection of a monument to Major André at the place of his execution, and the approaching centennial anniversary of this historic event, have brought into fresh prominence, after a comparative silence of many years, all that is connected with his story.

The house to which the prisoner was brought by Major Tallmadge, on the evening of Thursday, the 28th of September, 1780, in which he was confined until the morning of Tuesday, the 2d of October, and from which he was led to the hill upon which he suffered, is still standing in the highway which runs through the quaint village of Tappan.

There is nothing in the history of this quiet, secluded spot to distinguish it from innumerable other of the old Dutch settlements, beyond this dramatic incident of the revolution. At the time of the discovery, the wigwams of the Indian tribe of the Tappans spread over the country, from the Hackensack river to the Highlands, from the Hudson to the western hills. The name is derived from Tuphane, a Delaware word signifying "cold stream." For a while the Tappans held independant, undisputed sway; their proud chiefs refused to pay the contributions levied upon them by the Dutch governors of New Amsterdam, but they quailed before the formidable Mohawks, who came down from the Iroquois stronghold to collect the tribute, and enforced the right of the strong with bow and tomahawk that would not be denied. The tribe has long since disappeared, but the name is preserved in the old village and the now famous Tappan Sea.

This village was during the revolution indiscriminately known as Tappan or Orangetown, and is set down by both names on the map made in 1779 by Robert Erskine, Geographer to the Continental army. Orangetown, however, was not organized until 1788. It is about three miles from the Hudson, from which it is separated by the high ground which completes, beyond a deep gulley, the impregnable natural defence of the Palisade range; through this gap runs the road which leads to the western terminus of Dobbs' Ferry, where Captain Corbet kept a tavern in the days of the revolution. Here is now the small village of Rockland or Palisades, which is locally known as Sneden's Landing. The road from Tappan village to the Hudson follows the sinuosities of the ground, and is about one and one-half miles long.

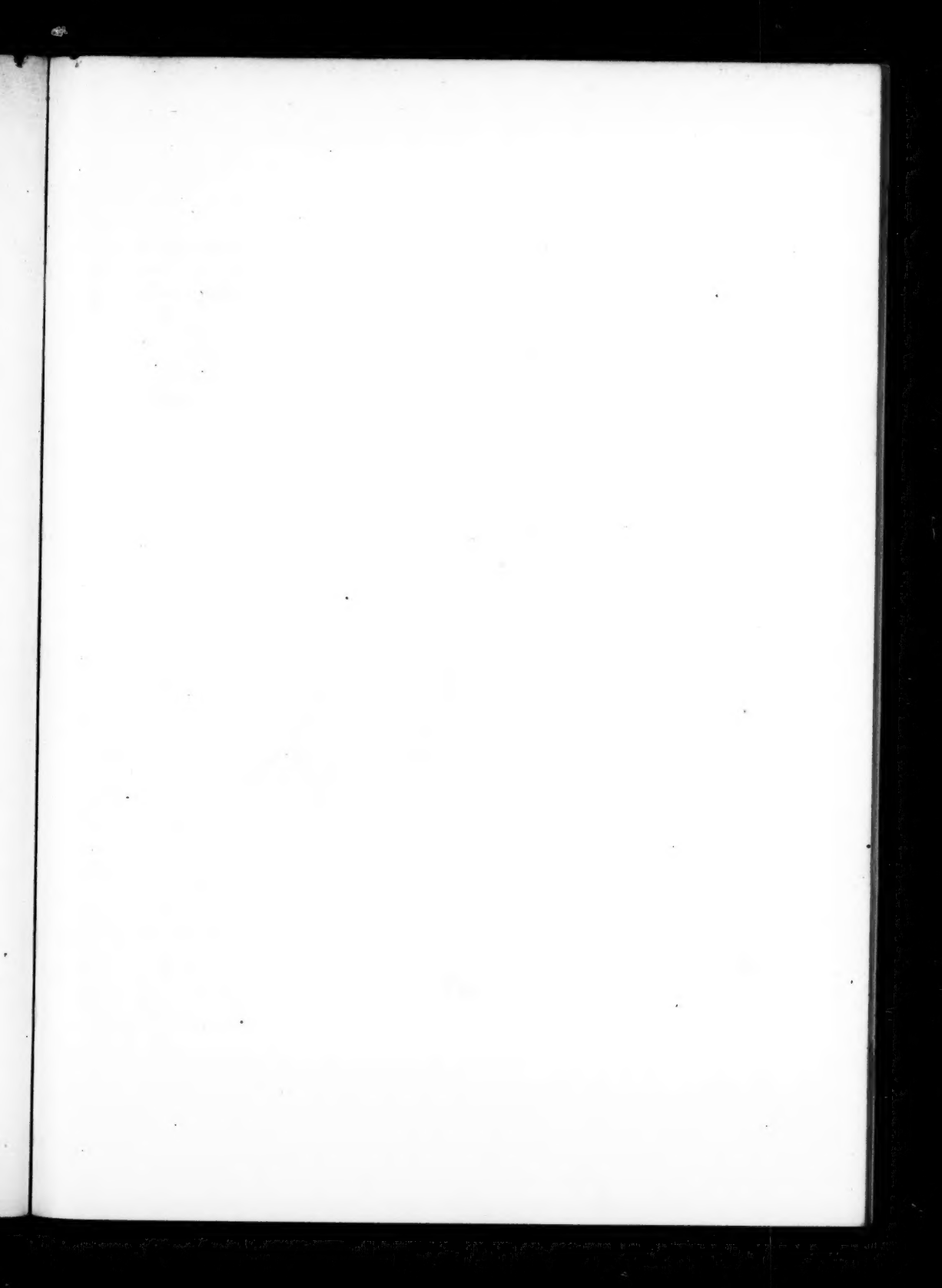
North of the highland, and at its foot, runs the Sparkill, which,

widening at its mouth, becomes the Sloat, or ditch, and pours its waters into the Hudson. At the Sloat is now the thriving little village of Piermont, the late terminus of the Erie Railroad. The distance from Dobbs' Ferry to the Sloat is about a mile.

The lot on which the Seventy-six House stands, there is strong evidence to show, made a part of the Van Voorst share of the original patent which was conveyed to Cornelius Myers. It is situated on the west side of the highway, and is sixty-three feet front by one hundred and twenty feet deep. In 1753 it was purchased of Myers by Casparus Mabie, whose name may be seen on Erskine's map of 1779 as owner of other property in the neighborhood. When the house was erected is not recorded. During the revolution it was known as the Mabie Tavern, and from that period until quite recently it has been used as a place of public entertainment. From Mabie it passed to Frederick Blauvelt, and was by him sold in 1800 to Philip Dubey, after whose death it passed successively to the ownership of Henry Gesner, Henry Storms, Thomas Wandle, Laurence T. Sneed and Henry Ryerson, all of whom kept it as a public house. In 1857 it was purchased at mortgage sale by Dr. James T. Stephens, a resident of Tappan since 1846, in whose possession it still remains. In 1876 Dr. Stephens planted an elm tree in the rear of the building, in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of American Independence.

The village proper was on a diminutive scale when Erskine made his surveys. This conscientious topographer never neglected to mark down every house or hamlet on his routes. The little cluster which bears the name of Tappan consisted of six houses and the church. The old Dutch Church, where the court-martial trials were held, and in which André was brought before the Board of General Officers by Washington's direction, was built in 1716. In 1788 it was rebuilt and enlarged; in 1835 demolished, and the present edifice erected. It stood at the northeast end of the village, where the road bends sharply to the northward, and from it led a lane, which ran westerly over the hill, on the north of which a part of the American army was encamped. Remains of the army ovens were until lately visible here. On the southeastern outskirts of the village still stands the building where Washington had his headquarters. Of the other houses designated by Erskine, that of Ryerson is still standing.

Mr. Spafford, writing in 1812, describes the inhabitants as principally descendants of the early Hollander settlers and as being "remarkable for their plainness and simplicity." He makes but a passing mention of





Major Andre

André, "executed as a spy, last year, in this Town, just on its S. line." Later, his patriotic feelings were seemingly hurt by the elaborate ceremonial of the removal of 1821, and found expression in the edition of the *Gazetteer* of 1824, in a passage which may be quoted to show the Whig sentiment of the last generation: "The memory of the spy and the traitor are, however, alike consigned to infamy, snuff-boxes, royal dukes, poetry and sickly morality, fable, fiction, American clergymen, Westminster Abbey and the 'Monument,' to the contrary, notwithstanding." A half century has passed since these lines were penned, but the feeling which prompted them still exists, as has been shown by the numberless recent comments in the press on the setting up of the memorial stone.

The Seventy-six House is built of stone, with brick trimmings to the door and windows. A hallway, which divides the front equally, leads to a room, which extends over the entire rear of the building. This was originally a lean-to, with a partition wall, which was later removed, when the whole space was thrown together and used as a ball-room about a quarter of a century ago. Its southern front room was the public place of entertainment. In its rear stands a bar of peculiar construction; a projection of wood, with a canopy, supported by posts,



The fireplace was ornamented by tiles, which have been removed. A few remain in the possession of Dr. Stephens, but the greater part were carried away by unscrupulous visitors. The northern front room and the small chamber in the lean-to were arranged for the confinement of André. In the latter is a window, from which tradition is that André saw the raising of the scaffold, a statement which is entirely at variance with the shock he received when he saw the gallows, and first knew



Major Andrie

André, "executed as a spy, last year, in this Town, just on its S. line." Later, his patriotic feelings were seemingly hurt by the elaborate ceremonial of the removal of 1821, and found expression in the edition of the *Gazetteer* of 1824, in a passage which may be quoted to show the Whig sentiment of the last generation: "The memory of the spy and the traitor are, however, alike consigned to infamy, snuff-boxes, royal dukes, poetry and sickly morality, fable, fiction, American clergymen, Westminster Abbey and the 'Monument,' to the contrary, notwithstanding." A half century has passed since these lines were penned, but the feeling which prompted them still exists, as has been shown by the numberless recent comments in the press on the setting up of the memorial stone.

The Seventy-six House is built of stone, with brick trimmings on the door and windows. A hallway, which divides the front equally, leads to a room, which extends over the entire rear of the building. This was originally a lean-to, with a partition wall, which was later removed, when the whole space was thrown together and used as a ball-room about a quarter of a century ago. Its southern front room was the public place of entertainment. In its rear stands a bar of peculiar construction; a projection of wood, with a canopy, supported by posts,

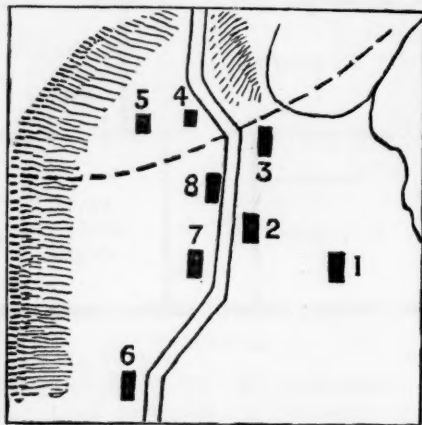


The fireplace was ornamented by tiles, which have been removed. A few remain in the possession of Dr. Stephens, but the greater part were carried away by unscrupulous visitors. The northern front room and the small chamber in the lean-to were arranged for the confinement of André. In the latter is a window, from which tradition is that André saw the raising of the scaffold, a statement which is entirely at variance with the shock he received when he saw the gallows, and first knew

the manner of his death. In this room, it is supposed, he slept. The lock of the door which opened from the other rear chamber, is now, with due authentication, the property of the New York Historical Society. In the front room Major André received Col. Hamilton, Major Tallmadge, and other officers of the American army.

Modest as this building must always have been, it nevertheless was the equal of any in the village. In his orders to Tallmadge, Washington particularly instructed him, while keeping close watch on his prisoner, to treat him with all the lenity his situation admitted of, and to see that he was comfortably lodged. The stone-work of the building is in excellent preservation, but the wood-work, within and without, is much decayed, and even what is left is with difficulty preserved from the rapacity of the relic hunter. The worthy owner, after repeated efforts to turn it to some practical use which would still leave it open to curious visitors, has found it necessary to close the building to save what remains. It is to be hoped that it may become the property of the State or County. Certainly there is no house in the land over which hangs a more romantic and melancholy interest.

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS



TAPPAN IN 1779.

- 1 John De Wint (Washington's Headquarters, 1780).
- 2 Rev'd Mr. Marselius.
- 3 Dutch Reformed Church.
- 4 Remains of Court House.

- 5 Casparus Mabie (Stone House), Andre prison.
- 6 John Myer.
- 7 William Concklin.
- 8 Parsonage.

ARNOLD THE TRAITOR, AND
ANDRÉ THE SUFFERER

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN JOSIAH
QUINCY, JARED SPARKS AND
BENJAMIN TALLMADGE

Communicated by Mary E. Norwood
From the Tallmadge Mss

I.

QUINCY TO TALLMADGE

Cambridge, 12 Nov., 1833

Dear Sir,

The accompanying letter has been transmitted to me by my friend Mr. Sparks, with a request that I would co-operate in ye request it contains. This I do most cordially and sincerely. I am sure you will readily aid ye labors of one who is throwing so much light upon the heroes and events of ye American Revolution— among the former of which you hold so high a rank, and to the glory of ye latter, to which you so largely contributed.

And now, my dear friend, let me recall to your recollection the many pleasant evenings passed in your society some twenty six or twenty seven years ago, when issuing from adjoining rooms, we alternately associated together and beguiled the weariness of Congressional apathy and vanity—you in telling, and I in hearing with delight of ye dangers, the sufferings and deeds of the times when, in comparison with our days, there were Giants in the land presiding its destinies. Remember what I then said to you, and which I now repeat. If you have kept a Journal of those times, if you do not choose to publish it during life, at least leave it in a state to do you justice after your

decease. If you have kept none—set about at once recalling the faded reminiscences of your own hasards, of ye sloop of war you captured, of ye Fort on Long Island which you surprised, and for which Congress voted you a sword—which they had never the grace to give— of ye battle at Germantown, and ye many interviews you enjoyed with General Washington, when he used your fearless patriotism, as it was one of ye most faithful and active in the field, & on which he could rely as on the best— Heaven has spared your life and your memory— Why should you not put what remains to its best use, that of gratifying your friends, and being to yourself & your country true in your last days by your pen, as you were in your earlier by your sword?

Very truly & respectfully,

Ye friend & obt Sev,

JOSIAH QUINCY

To the

Honbl Benjn Tallmadge

Litchfield, Connecticut

II

SPARKS TO TALLMADGE.

Cambridge, Mass'tts. Nov. 12th, 1833

Sir,

Being engaged in preparing Genl Washington's writings for the press, I have been recently investigating the subject of Arnold's Treason. As you were personally acquainted with many particulars which occurred after the Capture of André, I am induced to take the liberty of writing to you this letter for a little more light on two or three points. You know it has been thought very extraordinary that Colo Jameson

with the papers in his hands, which were taken from André's boots, and which were in the handwriting of Arnold, should have sent intelligence of this fact to Arnold himself.

In a letter from Col^o Jameson to Washington, dated Sept. 27th, I find the following passage, "I am very sorry that I wrote to Genl Arnold; I did not think of a British ship being up the River, and expected that if he was the man he has since turned out to be, that he would come down to the troops in this quarter, in which case I should have secured him. I mentioned my intention to Major Tallmadge and some other of the field officers, all of whom were clearly of the opinion that it would be right, until I could hear from your Excellency."

By this extract it appears that you were present at North Castle when André was brought in; and it would also seem that you were acquainted with Col. Jameson's reasons for the course he pursued. If you will explain to me these reasons in detail, & the facts connected with them, I shall be greatly obliged to you.

Again, the Letter written by Jameson, dated Sept. 23rd, did not reach Arnold till the 25th. Can you tell me what caused the delay?

I find by a copy of Jameson's letter to Arnold, and of another to Lieut. Allen, who was André's guard after he was sent from North Castle, that André was first ordered to Arnold's Head Quarters, but that the order was countermanded while André was on his way, & he was sent to Col. Heldon at Old Salem. Do you recollect the reason

why Col Jameson altered his mind and countermanded the order for sending André immediately to Hd Quarters?

I trust you will excuse the freedom I have taken in making these inquiries, and accept the assurances of the high respect & consideration of

Your Most Obt St,

JARED SPARKS

Hon Ben Tallmadge

III

TALLMADGE TO SPARKS

Litchfield, Conn., Nov 16th, 1833

Sir—Your favor of the 12th instant came to hand by the last Mail. I notice your request, & I presume I cannot more effectually comply with it than by furnishing an abstract from my memoranda of some of the Events of the Revolutionary War *quorum pars fui*. No Circumstances during that eventful period made a deeper Impression on my mind than those which related to *Arnold*, the *Traitor*, & *Major André*, the Sufferer. I proceed then to remark that the 2d Regt of Light Dragoons, Commanded by Col. Sheldon, was stationed in advance of the Army, near North Castle, & Col. Sheldon being absent, I think at Salem, Lt Col Jameson was the Commanding officer, and I was the Major. Early in the morning of the 23d of Sept., 1780, I marched with a large Detachment of Dragoons to reconnoitre the Country below the white plains, down to East Chester, which was a sort of *neutral Ground*, from which Tour I did not return until late in the Evening of the same day. Soon after I halted, & had disposed of my Detachment, I was informed that a prisoner had been

bro't in that day, who called himself *John Anderson*. On Enquiry, I found that three Men, by the names of *John Paulding, David Williams & Isaac Van Wart*, who had passed below our ordinary military Patrols on the road from Tarry Town to Kingsbridge, had fallen in with this *John Anderson* on his way to New York. They took him aside for Examination, and discovering sundry papers upon him, which he had concealed in his boots, they determined to detain him as a Prisoner. Notwithstanding Anderson's offers of pecuniary satisfaction if they would permit him to proceed on his Course, they determined to bring him up to the Head Qrs of our Regt, then on the advance Post of our Army, and near to North Castle. This they effected in the forenoon of the 23rd of Sept., 1780, by delivering said Anderson to Lt Col Jameson of the 2nd Regt Lt Dragoons, who was then the Commanding Officer at said Post, Col Sheldon being then at old Salem, I believe under Arrest.

His Excellency Gen Washington had made an appointment to meet the Count Rochambeau (who commanded the French Army then at Newport, R. I.) at Hartford, in Conn, about the 18th or 20th of September, and was on his return to the Army at the time of Anderson's Capture. When I reached Lt Col Jameson's Qrs late in the Evening of the 23d of Sept, and had learned the Circumstances relating to the Capture of sd *Anderson*, I was much surprised to learn that he was sent on by Lt Col Jameson to Arnold's Head Qrs at West Point, accompanied by a Letter of Information respecting his Capture. At

the same time he despatched an Express with the papers found on *John Anderson* to meet Gen Washington, then on his return to West Point.

I felt very much surprised at the Course which had been taken in this business, & did not fail to state the glaring Inconsistency of their Conduct to Lt Col Jameson in a private and most friendly manner. He appeared greatly agitated, more especially when I suggested to him a plan which I wished to pursue, offering to take the entire responsibility on myself, & which, as he deemed it too perilous to permit, I will not further disclose. Failing in this purpose, I instantly set about a plan to remand the Prisoner to our Qrs again, which I finally effected, altho' with reluctance on the part of Lt Col Jameson. When the order was about to be despatched to the Officer to bring back the Prisoner, strange as it may seem, Lt Col J—n would persist in his purpose of sending his letter to Gen Arnold— The Letter did go on, & was the first Information that Arch Traitor recd that his plot was blown up. The Officer returned with his Prisoner early the next morning. As soon as I saw Anderson, & especially after I saw him walk across the floor (which he did almost constantly), I became impressed with the belief that he had been *bred to arms*. I communicated my suspicion to Lt Col J—n, & requested him to notice his Gait, & especially when he turned on his heel to retrace his Course across the room. We soon concluded that the safest Course was to take the Prisoner to Salem to Col Sheldon's Qrs, & I was appointed to take Charge of him. After we reached Salem, it was manifest that

his Agitation & Anxiety greatly increased, & in the afternoon he asked to be furnished with pen, ink & paper, which were readily furnished, when he penned the Letter to Gen Washington, dated "Salem, 24th September, 1780," which is recorded in most of the Histories of that eventful period. In this Letter he disclosed his Character to be "Major John Andre, Adjutant Genl to the British Army." When I had perused the Letter, which he handed to me to read, my Agitation was extreme, & my Emotions wholly indescribable.

The papers found in Major Andre's boots did not reach Gen'l Washington until he had arrived at West Point on the 25th, nor did Jameson's letter reach Arnold until the morning of that day, & that too after two of Gen'l Washington's Aids had reached his house. While they were taking breakfast the Letter was delivered to Arnold, who knowing that the Commander in Chief would soon be there, rose hastily from his table. & proceeded with all possible Dispatch down to his barge, & directed his Men to row him down the river, carrying a white flag in is hand, until they reached the *Vulture Sloop of War*, then lying in Tappan Bay, a little below Kings ferry. This was the same Vessel that bro't up Major Andre from New York. Soon after Arnolds flight Gen'l W—n arrived, but the vile Traitor had escaped.

I very soon rec'd an order to bring *Andre* on to West Point, under a strong escort of Cavalry; & the next day I proceeded down the Hudson to King's ferry and landed at Haverstraw, where a large detachment of Dragoons had been sent from the main Army at Tap-

pan, with which I escorted the Prisoner to Head Qrs.— After our arrival at Tappan, I reported the fact to Gen'l Washington, who ordered a Court—consisting of 14 Gen'l officers, to sit & hear the Case of Major Andre & report their opinion of his Case.

On the 29th of Sept'r Gen'l Green the President of the Court reported to the Commander in Chief that they had come to the Conclusion "that Major Andre, Adjutant Gen'l to the British Army, ought to be considered as a Spy from the Enemy, & that agreeably to the Law & usage of nations, it is their opinion he ought to suffer death."

Without further Comment on the measures pursued by the Enemy to obtain his release, I will only remark that on the 2d of October he was executed. I walked with him to the place of execution, and parted with him under the gallows, entirely overwhelmed with Grief, that so gallant an officer, & so accomplished a Gentleman should come to such an ignominious End.

I have taken a large sheet to make it a single letter & hope these few particulars may answer your purpose, I must add a few lines to my much respected friend President Quincy, & am very truly

Your most obedt Servt

BENJ TALLMADGE

Jared Sparks, Esqr.

IV

TALLMADGE TO QUINCY

Litchfield, Nov. 18th 1833

My much valued & respected friend

I have been much gratified & delighted by the addition made by you to

Mr. Sparks' Letter. I take the liberty to reply in the same way. The reminiscences of our byegone years when we endeavored to serve our Country, at Washington, sometimes serve to amuse & to beguile a long winters Evening & often do I recollect our pleasant Interviews. But alas how changed is the present political Arena! I can hardly conceive of any Inducement that could lead me again into public life. Adieu to it forever.

I notice your remarks respecting the Events of my military life in the revolutionary War & have only to remark that to gratify my Children, I have noted by way of memoranda some occurrences which passed under my own Eye. The difficulty which most perplexed me, has been a natural tendency to run into *history*, which I wished to avoid.

Again by confining the narrative to my own deeds & observations, *Egotism* seemed to be too prominent & that I despise. The few remarks furnished for Mr Sparks (tho' somewhat abridged) will afford you a specimen. Adieu my dear Quincy & believe me with unwavering affection

& great Respect

Your most obdt Servt

BENJ TALLMADGE

Josiah Quincy

[Cambridge, Mass.]

V

SPARKS TO TALLMADGE

Cambridge, Feby 6th, 1834

Dear Sir—

I have had the pleasure to receive your very interesting letter, which you had the goodness to write in reply to my inquiries respecting Arnold's Treason.

As I have obtained many original papers on that subject, both in the public offices in England, and in this country, especially the papers presenting the trials of André, & Joshua Smith, with full written testimonies of many persons taken down at the time—I say as I have so many materials in my hands, I am about preparing a *Life of Arnold* giving a detailed account of his treason. I hope you will excuse me, therefore, for asking you many questions, which might otherwise seem insignificant or unnecessary. I wish to be as accurate as possible in my statements, & at the same time to include every important or interesting circumstance. Will you have the kindness, therefore, to answer the following queries, according to your recollection?

1st. Did André request Jameson to send him to Arnold? Historians tell us that this act of Jameson was chiefly to be ascribed to the address & persuasion of André.

2d. If Jameson was not thus influenced, what arguments did he use to urge himself to this step? The thing is so strange, that it cannot be accounted for, by any facts, which have appeared.

3d. How did it happen, that Jameson's letter to Arnold, which was written on the 23d, did not reach him till the 25th?

4th. Was André retained at Salem till orders came from *Washington* to take him to West Point? or was he sent forward by Sheldon from that post?

5th. When André arrived at West point or Robinson's House, did General Washington see him, or converse with him? Did Washington ever see him after he left West Point?

6th. To what commanding officer did you deliver André at Tappan? Was he at any time put under the command of Wayne? or did Wayne command at the post when you arrived with him at Tappan? I ask these questions, because it has been said, that André's prediction, — about the "Warrior-drover Wayne," in *The Cow Chace*, was verified by his being put into the charge of Wayne at Tappan.

7th. Why was not Wayne on the court of Inquiry when André was examined?

8th. How was André dressed while you were with him? In what dress was he executed? It has been said that he was executed in his full regimentals. But he had left his coat at the House of Joshua Smith. Was this restored to him before his execution?

9th. Was he buried in the same dress in which he was executed? The British Consul, who took up his bones, has insinuated, that he was rifled of his regimentals after execution, & before his burial.

Now Sir, I shall be much obliged to you, if you will answer these questions in as much detail as your leisure & recollections will permit.

You need not fear being too prolix. Indeed I should be glad if you would pursue the narrative day by day, and state all the particulars, which you can remember, respecting your conversations with André his appearance and conduct—and particularly the manner in which he was escorted from Salem to Tappan. As you are the only man living who can give this information, I beg you will excuse my freedom, and accept

the assurances of the high respect of your obliged &

Most obt Servt.

JARED SPARKS

Hon Ben. Tallmadge

I have in my possession the original papers found in André's boots—and Arnold's pass.— You are aware perhaps, that I have all General Washington's papers, and am preparing a selection for publication. Two volumes are just now issuing from the press. There will be twelve in the whole.

Among Washington's papers is a large number of letters from you, written at different periods of the war.

VI

TALLMADGE TO SPARKS

Litchfield, Conn., Feby 17th, 1834

Dr Sir

I have before me your favor of the 6th inst & will endeavour to answer your Queries, so full within my recollections after the lapse of more than half a Century.

I have already informed you, that on the day when the Captors of Major Andre bro't him up to our Regt at North Castle (Sept 23d 1780) I was out on Duty in advance of the Regt below the white plains & did not return with my Detachm' until the Eveng of that day. After I had desposed of my Troops & and had spoken with Lt Col Jameson, he informed me of the Capture of *John Anderson* & that he had been bro't up and delivered over to him by his Captors. When I inquired where the Prisoner was, he informed me that he had sent him on, under Guard to

Gen'l Arnold at West point. I expressed my astonishment at such a Course & immediately entered on a course of measures to frustrate what I considered so unjudicious a procedure. My first proposal was to give me leave of absence for official object which I fully explained to Col Jameson & which for special reasons I have not disclosed, as no public benefit could result from it. Failing in this request my next plan was to remand the Prisoner, then probably 8 or 10 Miles on his way to West point, which I did not accomplish until late in the Evening. After the Order was despatched for the officers & Guard to return with the Prisoner, I waited impatiently for the coming morning, when for the first time I saw the face of *John Anderson*.

What influenced Col Jameson to send on Major Andre to Arnold, I cannot tell, not being present with him when he sent him off; but I well remember that he expressed great Confidence in him as I believe was the Case thro' the Army. Until the papers were found on Anderson, I had no suspicion of his lack of patriotism or political Integrity myself.

To your 3d enquiry, I remark that the non arrival of Col Jameson's Letter at Arnold's Qrs at an earlier period, is accounted for by the *Counter-march* of the Officer who had it in Charge with his Guard & Prisoner. I do not now recollect the distance from North Castle to West Point, but should think it was between 40 or 50 Miles.

4th. I do not perfectly remember whether I waited for an order from Gen Washington to bring on Major Andre, or whether we judged it best to

have him sent on, so as to arrive soon after the Commr in Chief, who reached West Point on the 25th of Septr. The last case is the most probable, as it was deemed unsafe to keep such a Prisoner on an advanced post, & as I think I reached West Point with Andre the 26th or 27th, & Tappan on the Day following.

5th. When I arrived at W Point, after answering many Enquiries made by Genl Washington, I think I asked him whether he would see the Prisoner, to which he answered in the negative; nor do I believe he ever saw him while he was our Prisoner.

When I arrived at Tappan I reported myself directly to Hd Qrs, and was informed that there was a house near to Head Qrs & a Guard of Officers ready to receive the Prisoner. In their hands I left him, and in a short time, at his own request, I returned to him, & continued with him almost the whole time until he was executed, which was on the 2d of Octr, 1780.

I was well acquainted with Genl Wayne (Mad Anthony, as we used to call him), but do not remember to have seen him while I was at Tappan. The Commr in Chief selected the Board of Genl Officers to investigate the Case of Major Andre, & report the same with their Opinion to him, & no one took upon him the liberty to enquire why A. was Appointed a Member of the Board & B. omitted. From the time I first recd Major Andre into Custody until I deliv'd him at Tappan he was cloathed in a plain Country man's Dress, with a Surtout overall (rather shabby), which I think he told me was J. Smith's, at

Haverstraw, where he was concealed. Soon after we reached Tappan his Regimentals were sent out from New York, in which he constantly appeared, in which he walked to the Gallows, & was executed, & in which *I saw him laid in his Coffin*. Mr. Buchanan the British Consul's Insinuation looks a little as if he might have been stripped of his Regimentals before he was buried. This I know was not the Case. But whether he might not have been taken up by some *human Vulture* after the army removed from that Quarter, who then deprived him of his Regimentals, I am willing to leave to Mr B——n to settle by Chymistry or any other process which would dissolve metallic buttons, while a leathern string around his hair was preserved entire. I believe I have now attended to all your Queries, so far as my recollection serves me. I will now close with a few remarks, which you seem to request, and as a Historian may be entitled to receive—

I begin then by remarking that with Arnold's Character I became acquainted while I was a Member of Yale College & he residing at New Haven, & I well remember that I was impressed with the belief that he was not a man of Integrity. The revolutionary war was coming on soon after I left College, & Arnold engaging in it with so much Zeal, & behaving so gallantly in the Capture of Burgoyne, we all seemed, as if by common Consent, to forget his knavish tricks. When he was put in Command of West point, I had official Communications with him, particularly as it related to my private Correspondence with persons in N. York, of wh you must have

seen much in my Letters to Genl Washington, now in your hands. When he turned Traitor, & went off, I felt for a time extremely anxious for some trusty friends in N. York, but as I never gave their names to him, he was not able to discover them, altho' I believe he tried hard to find them out.

My narrative must of necessity be somewhat Egotistical, altho' I not unfrequently remind myself that I am not writing my own Biography, nor the history of the revolutionary war, but only noting down a few Reminiscences of one important Occurrence in that most memorable period—

With your Indulgence then I will add one more Anecdote of this *Arch Traitor*, & I shall have done with him, I hope, forever.

After he had got settled down in his new Situation at N York, he addressed a letter to me by flag, in which he said many more flattering things as an officer than I should have dared to say of myself; and then advised me to quit the American cause & join the British Standard, assuring me that America could not succeed in her Rebellion against her Parent Country. To induce me to take this Step, he said he was authorized to offer me the same rank in the British Army that I held in the American. At first I confessed I felt somewhat mortified that my Patriotism could be even suspected by this most consummate Villain. I took the Letter, however, immediately to Genl Washington, who consoled me abundantly on the Occasion.

I come now to treat of a very different Character, whose name will shine

with Lustre & Glory, while that of the Traitor will be handed down with Infamy & disgrace to the latest posterity.

From the moment that Major Andre made the Disclosure of his name & true Character, in his Letter to the Commander in Chief, dated Sepr 24th, 1780, which he handed to me as soon as he had written it, to the moment of his Execution, I was almost constantly with him. The Ease and affability of his manner, polished by the refinement of good Society & a finished Education, made him a most delectable Companion. It often drew tears from my Eyes to find him so pleasant & agreeable in Conversation on different Subjects, when I reflected on his future fate, & that too, as I believed, so near at hand—

Since you ask for private Anecdotes, I would remark that soon after Acquaintance, being mutually disposed to have the most unreserved & free Conversation, & both being soldiers of equal Rank in the two Armies, we agreed on a Cartel, by the terms of which each one was permitted to put any Question to the other, not involving a third Person. This opened a wide field for two inquisitive young Officers, & we amused ourselves on the march to Head Quarters not a little. Many Anecdotes doubtless were related, which the lapse of more than *fifty three years* has consigned to oblivion, & wh I have no desire to recollect.

My principal object was to learn the late plot. On every point that I enquired, when any other person was concerned, he maintained most rigidly the rule, so that even where that most infamous Traitor Arnold was concerned (&

he out of our control), so nice was his sense of honour, that he would disclose nothing. When we left West Point for Tappan early in the morning, as we passed down the Hudson river to King's ferry, I placed Major Andre by my side, on the after seat of the Barge.

I soon began to make Enquiries about the expected Capture of our fortress, & begged him to inform me whether he was to have taken a part in the military attack, if Arnold's plan had succeeded. He instantly replied in the affirmative, & pointed me to a table of Land on the West Shore, which he said was the spot where he should have landed at the head of a *select* Corps. He then traversed in idea the Course up the mountain into the rear of *Fort Putnam*, which overlooks the whole Parade of West Point, & with much greater exactness than I could have done; & as the Traitor Arnold had so disposed of the Garrison that little or no opposition could have been made by our Troops. Major Andre supposed he should have reached that important Eminence without difficulty. Thus that important key of our Country would have been theirs, & the Glory of so splendid an Atchievement would have been his. The Animation with which he gave the Account I recollect perfectly delighted me, for he seemed as if he was entering the fort, sword in hand. To complete the Climax, I then enquired what was to have been his reward if he had succeeded. He replied that military Glory was all he sought, & that the thanks of his General, & the approbation of his King, was a rich reward for such an Undertaking.

I think he further remarked that if he had succeeded (&, with the aid of the opposing General, who would doubt of success?) he was to have been promoted to the rank of Brigdr General.

As we progressed on our way to Tappan, before we reached the Clove, where we dined, Major André was very inquisitive to know my Opinion as to the result of his Capture. In other words, he wished me to give him my Opinion as to the light in wh he would be viewed by Genl Washington, & a Military Tribunal, if one should be ordered. I endeavored to evade the Question, unwilling to give him a true answer. When I could no longer evade this Importunity, I said to him that I had a much loved Class mate in Yale College by the name of Nathan Hale, who entered the Army with me in the year 1776. After the British Troops had entered N. York, Genl Washington wanted Information respecting the strength, position & probable movements of the Enemy. Capt. Hale tendered his services, went into N. York, & was taken just as he was passing the out posts of the Enemy; said I, with Emphasis, do you remember the sequel of this Story; Yes, said André; he was hanged as a Spy; but you surely do not consider his Case & mine alike. I replied, precisely similar, & similar will be your fate. He endeavored to answer my remarks, but it was manifest he was more troubled than I had ever seen him before—

We stopt at the Clove to dine & to let the Horse Guard refresh; while there Andre kept reviewing his shabby Dress, & finally remarked to me that he was positively ashamed to go to the Headquarters of the American Army in such a

plight. I called my Servant, & directed him to bring my Dragoon Cloak, which I presented to André. This he refused to take for some time, but I insisted on it, & he finally put it on & rode in it to Tappan.

The Catastrophe, which ensued after we reached the army at Tappan, was narrated in my former Letter, & the principal facts are matters of history. Give me leave then to remark that so deeply were my feelings interested in the fate of this unfortunate young Man, that I believe I have never narrated the story, nor perused the account of his merited, but ignominious Death without shedding tears of sorry over such blighted prospects. I hope & trust this will be the last trial of my feelings in this way.

I am yours, &c.,

BENJAMIN TALLMADGE

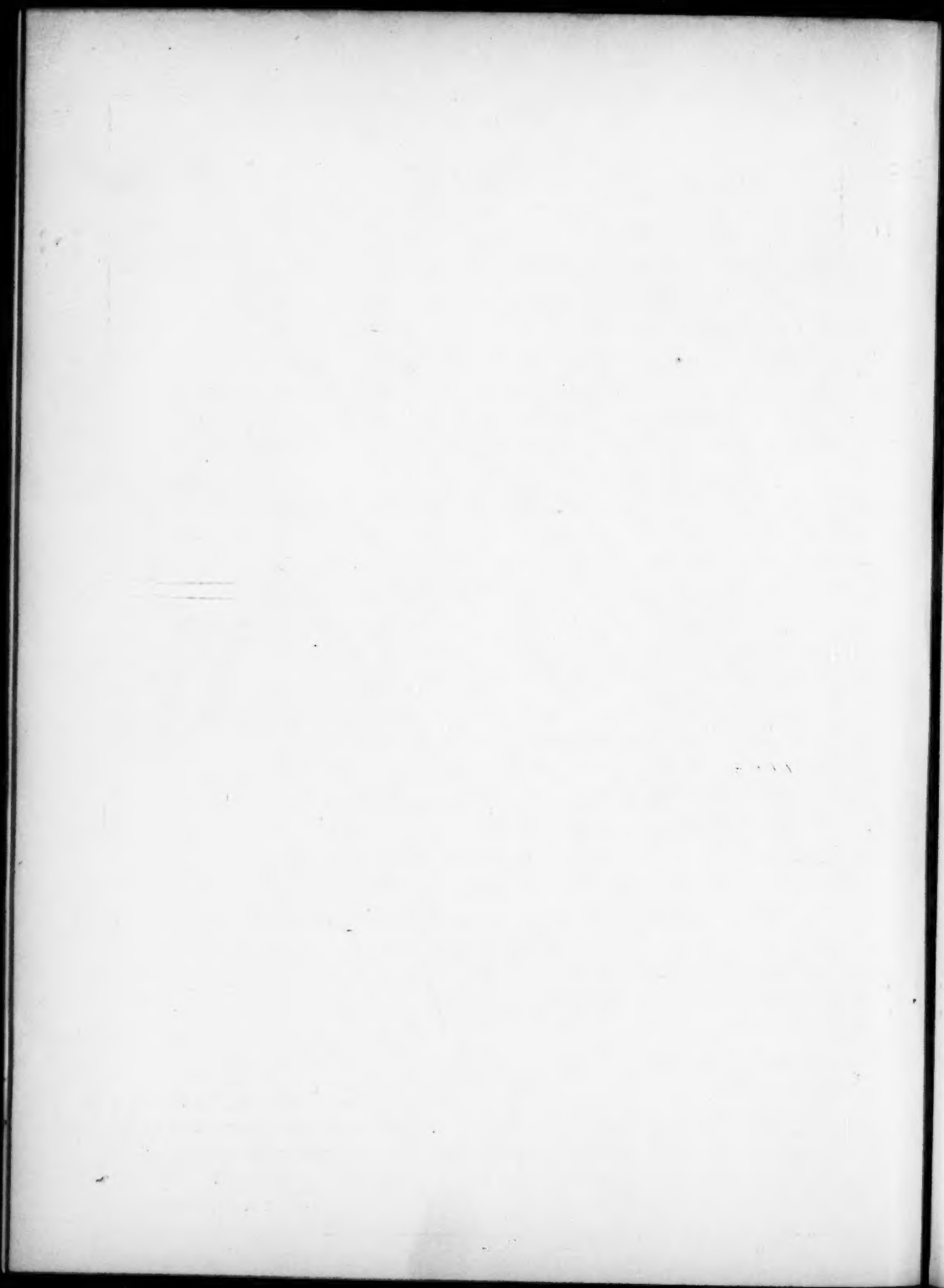
J Sparks Esqr

P. S. Altho' my views & Col Jameson's differed so widely respecting the disposal of John Anderson, I feel it to be due to his Character & Memory to declare that I never entertained a Doubt of his Patriotism & Devotedness to his Country's Cause. In sending the Prisoner & his Letter of Information to Arnold, his *Head* was in fault, & not his *heart*. His Confidence in his Commanding General outweighed the Influence of prudent precautionary Measures.

ROUTE OF ANDRÉ

PRELIMINARY NOTE.—A journal is hereto appended of the incidents with which André was directly concerned, from the time that he left New York





until the hour of his execution at Tappan.

September 20, Wednesday—Major André leaves New York City with verbal instructions and a letter from Sir Henry Clinton; goes on board a British sloop at Dobbs Ferry, east side, and taking advantage of the tide, sails to the Vulture man-of-war, lying at anchor off Teller's Point, at the lower extremity of Haverstraw Bay, which he reaches at seven o'clock in the evening. Here he finds Col. Beverley Robinson, his companion in the plot, and suffering from temporary illness, as well as uncertain as to Arnold's plans for a meeting, remains on board all night.

September 21, Thursday—André contrives to inform Arnold of his presence by countersigning a letter—sent to headquarters by Captain Sutherland of the Vulture by flag of truce—with his assumed name of John Anderson. In the night, after he has gone to his bed, Joshua Hett Smith boards the Vulture with Arnold's pass, and brings off John Anderson (André). They are landed from the boat at the foot of the Long Clove Mountain, on the west bank of the Hudson; where Arnold and André have a protracted interview in the bushes.

The Vulture being compelled to drop down the river by the fire of a cannon sent from Verplanck's Point by Capt. James Livingston, commander of that post, and planted on Tellers' Point, they abandon the attempt to reach the vessel by boat. Arnold and André ride to Belmont, the house of Joshua Hett Smith, two and a half miles from King's Ferry, which they reach about dawn.

September 22, Friday—André passes

the day at Smith's house—such is Smith's story. It is more probable, however, that Arnold improved this opportunity to show him the West Point approaches. At dusk André, disguised in Smith's clothing, and accompanied by him, rides to King's Ferry; they are taken across the river to Verplanck's Point, where they stop for a moment at the tent of Colonel Livingston. Continuing their journey, they are stopped, between eight and nine o'clock in the evening, near Crompond, by Captain Boyd, of Sheldon's regiment of Light Dragoons, who was out with a patrol, and recommended to the tavern of Andreas Miller, where they pass the night together. (Smith's narrative does not accord with this. He says that five or six miles below Verplanck's Point they met a patrol, and were challenged by Captain Bull. By his advice they returned several miles to a tavern kept by a man named McKoy).

September 23, Saturday—Permitted to continue their journey, they start just before dawn. They breakfast at the house of Mrs. Sarah Underhill on the Pine's Bridge road, about one mile south of Crompond. Here, Smith declining to go further, they separate; Smith riding northward to Fishkill, where his family was staying, and André starting on the Sing Sing road. Continuing on the river road—the King's Highway—at times riding and at times leading his horse, he meets with no hindrance until he reaches the brook, a quarter of a mile north of Tarrytown, a short distance beyond the American lines, where he is stopped by Paulding Van Wart and Williams about eleven o'clock

in the forenoon. They search him on the road, and carry him across the fields, halting at the house of Jacob Romers, to North Castle, where an outpost of the Second Regiment of Light Dragoons (Sheldon's) was stationed, under the command of Lieut. Colonel Jameson.

Lt. Col. Jameson sends André under guard up to Arnold's headquarters at Robinson's house; he sends also a letter to Arnold, and at the same time despatches an Express to the northeast to meet General Washington, then on his way from Hartford to West Point, after his interview with Rochambeau.

Major Tallmadge, of Sheldon's regiment, returning with a detachment from a patrol late in the evening to Lt. Col. Jameson's quarters, protests against the course pursued, and an officer is at once sent to bring back the prisoner. The ride lasts through the night.

September 24, Sunday—Early in the morning André is brought back to Jameson's quarters, and at once sent, under charge of Major Tallmadge, to South Salem, the headquarters of the Second Regiment of Light Infantry.

These headquarters were in a barn belonging to Squire Gilbert. Col Sheldon was at the time under arrest.

André passes the day in confinement. In the afternoon André writes a letter to General Washington, disclosing his true character. This letter Tallmadge reads at André's request.

September 25, Monday—Arnold, while at breakfast receives Lt Col Jameson's letter; instantly rides to the shore, and calling his barge, escapes to the Vulture, by water. The Vulture weighs anchor and sails down the river.

Washington, at four o'clock in the afternoon receives the despatches, and orders André to be brought up. At seven in the evening, on receipt of André's letter, Washington sends a second despatch, ordering that he be brought under "a strong escort, by an upper road."

The first order reached the Gilbert farm house at midnight, and André was at once started under guard of Tallmadge. At the North Salem Church they meet the second messenger, with Washington's orders for a change of route. They ride all night through a pelting rain.

September 26, Tuesday—Major Tallmadge arrives with the prisoner at Robinson's house soon after dawn. They had halted for a few moments at the fork of the road near Peekskill, near the residence of General Pierre Van Cortlandt.

September 27, Wednesday—André is taken by Tallmadge across the river to West Point. (There is some doubt as to whether André was taken across the river from Robinson's House to West Point on the 26th or 27th. Tallmadge is uncertain. Major Burroughs, however, testified on the trial of Smith that he saw Major André when he crossed the river the preceding *Wednesday*, which was the 27th. This is direct evidence.)

September 28, Thursday—André is brought early in the morning in a barge by Major Tallmadge from West Point to King's Ferry—here they are met by Tallmadge's squadron of horse, sent across the river to join him. He takes his prisoner to the camp at Orange

Town (Tappan) by an interior circuitous road. They halt and dine at the house of John Coe in the Clove (at Katiat, about ten miles from King's Ferry), and reach Orangetown at dusk. André is confined in the house of Cornelius Mabie, now known as the Seventy-six Stone House. This house was in the camp. Washington ordered that his "room be a decent one, and that he be treated with civility," but kept under personal supervision.

Washington arrives at camp, and makes his headquarters at the house of John De Wint.

September 29, Friday—Laune, the servant of André, arrives at camp from New York with clothing sent up to him by General Robertson by a flag of truce.

André is brought before a court of General Officers, tried in the old Dutch Church, and sentenced to death.

André writes to Sir Henry Clinton, recommending to him his family.

September 30, Saturday—André is still in confinement at Mabie's house. He is accompanied by Tallmadge and receives the visits of American officers.

Washington approves the sentence of the court-martial.

October 1, Sunday—Washington in "Morning Orders" directs the execution to take place at five o'clock the same afternoon.

André writes to Washington, asking for a soldier's death.

A letter arrives in the morning from Sir Henry Clinton to Washington, announcing the sending of Commissioners for a Conference concerning André; Washington in "After Orders" postpones the execution till the morrow.

The Commissioners arrive at Dobbs' Ferry in the Greyhound schooner Flag of Truce. One of them, General Robertson, is met by General Greene in the afternoon; the negotiation fails.

Washington in "Evening Orders" directs that the execution take place at twelve o'clock the next day.

October 2, Monday—André is hanged at twelve o'clock, on the high hill in the rear of his place of confinement, in front of the lines, and within the limits of the camp.

GAINES' UNIVERSAL REGISTER

1780

September begins on Friday, hath 30 Days

First Quarter, Thursday, the 21st, 6 Morning.

New Moon, Thursday, the 28th, 2 Morning.

	DAYS.	High water.	Sun rising.	Sun setting.
21	Thursday	3 00	5 58	7
22	Friday	3 54	5 59	7
23	Saturday	4 50	6	6
24	Sunday	5 48	6 1	6
25	Monday	6 40	6 3	6
26	Tuesday	7 38	6 4	6
27	Wednesday	8 30	6 5	6
28	Thursday	9 27	6 7	6
29	Friday	10 12	6 8	6
30	Saturday	11 6	6 10	6

October begins on Sunday, hath 31 Days.

First Quarter, Friday the 6th, 1 Morning.

	DAYS.	High water.	Sun rising.	Sun setting.
1	Sunday	11 56
2	Monday	12 50	6 13	6
3	Tuesday	1 43	6 14	6
4	Wednesday	2 36	6 15	6

ASPECTS.

September 23—Moon rises 12.10.

25 } Cloudy and may rain.

26 }

October 2 } Now expect rain.

3 }

4—Moon sets 9.57.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.—The map of the route annexed is taken from the survey prepared in 1779 by Robert Erskine, Geographer in General to the Army of the United States. Erskine died at his residence at Ringwood, New Jersey, the day of André's execution.

EDITOR.

THE REMOVAL OF SCHUYLER.—This important act of the Continental Congress, which determined the result of the campaign of 1777 by opposing to Burgoyne a general of ability superior to his own, and who possessed the confidence of the army, has been the source of endless dissatisfaction and reproach; the biographers of Schuyler, not content with his own justly earned reputation, have endeavored to transfer to him the laurels as justly earned by Gates in the profound strategy which secured the capture of Burgoyne's entire army.

A letter has recently been brought to our notice in which Schuyler himself conclusively disposes of this claim. It was written to John Jay, January 18, 1779, and contains the following passage:

"I have long since justified Congress for depriving me of the command in 1777, convinced that it was their duty to sacrifice the feelings of an individual to the safety of the States, when the people who only could defend the country refused to serve under him."

If the history of the revolution is to be rewritten it is as well that it should be made to rest on the "bottom facts."

EDITOR.

QUERIES

PICKETING.—In an army order book, Orangetown, 20th August, 1780, appears the following entry in the finding of a court-martial; "He is sentenced to be picketed 15 minutes, and to receive 100 lashes on his back." What was picketing?

IULUS.

GERARD, THE FRENCH PLENIPOTENTIARY.—I would like information as to this gentleman, whose full name is given as Chevalier Conrad Alexander Gerard. He was the first minister of France to the United States, arriving here with the fleet of d'Estaing in 1778. What rank did he finally attain, and what was his career after his return to France?

ARMA.

THE IRISH ELEMENT IN THE CONTINENTAL ARMY.—Major-General Robertson, in his examination before the House of Parliament in relation to the conduct of the American war, on being asked by Mr. Burke how the Provincial corps were composed, whether they were mostly Americans or emigrants from various nations in Europe, made the following reply:

"Some corps mostly natives; the greatest number such as can be got; many may be emigrants; our force similar to the rebels in that circumstance. Gen. Lee informed me that half the rebel Continental army were from Ireland."

Joseph Galloway also testified that by accounts kept 2,300 deserters came into the British army at Philadelphia. The deserters in all numbered about 3,000, of those who came in the names and places of nativity were taken down;

one-half of them were Irish, scarce a fourth Americans, the other fourth English or Scotch.

Is it possible at this late day to obtain authentic information in regard to strength of the Irish element in the Continental army? PETERSFIELD.

REPLIES

ARNOLD NOT A FREEMASON.—(III., 578.) It is generally believed that the traitor, Benedict Arnold, was not a Mason. He is often spoken of in Masonic writings as the only General officer of the Revolutionary army who did not belong to that honored fraternity. I believe, however, that the statement rests on negative evidence—the entire absence of any lodge records to prove that he ever took any Masonic degrees.

Brownsville, Pa.

H. E. H.

"PICKPACK."—(III., 638.) This is not an Americanism, but a good English word. "Pickaback," "Pickback," "Pickpack, variations of the same word. Vid. Johnson, Sheridan, Barclay, Webster, Worcester. Use—

'The fellow on this odd emergence
Carries him pickback to the Surgeon's."

Taylor—*Old Epigram.*

"Mounted a pickback on the old."

Butler—*Hudibras.*

"Her darling under her arms, and the other a pickpack on her shoulders."—*L'Estrange.*

"Carried pickpack to bed."—*Swall.*

E. C. B.

CANNIBALISM IN NORTH AMERICA.—(I., 389.) Mr. Murphy's denial of the prevalence of cannibalism on the North Atlantic coast was referred to in a pre-

vious number of the Magazine, but the Eleventh Annual Report of the Peabody Museum, Vol. II., No. 2, p. 197, shows that man-eating prevailed among the Indians on Great Deer Isle, Penobscot Bay.

PEMETIC.

ANDRÉ MONUMENT INSCRIPTION.—(III., 453.) The expression, "*He was more unfortunate than criminal,*" applied by Washington to André, occurs in a letter written to the Count Rochambeau: "Your excellency will have heard of the execution of the British Adjutant General. The circumstances under which he was taken justified it, and policy required a sacrifice; but as he was more unfortunate than criminal, and as there was much in his character to interest, while we yielded to the necessity of rigor, we could not but lament it." See Mem. Hist. Soc. of Penna., Vol. VI., p. 369, and Sargent's André (ed. of 1871), p. 400.

C. A. C.

THE FIRST NATIONAL SALUTE TO THE FLAG OF THE UNITED STATES.—(III., 579.) If W. H. will refer to pages 173-174 of the first edition of my History of Our Flag, he will find that the flag saluted at St. Eustasia in 1776 was the Continental, or striped ensign, without the stars. And on pages 198-199 he will find that Paul Jones officially claimed, what I believed to be the fact, that *he* received the first salute to the Stars and Stripes at Quiberon Bay, February 13, 1778. The Hon. James Birney could not have read the facts when he announced his opinion, as the stars and stripes had no existence when the salute was fired at St. Eustasia—and I

do not come down in my opinion—and Ezra Greene's diary only confirmed Paul Jones' official announcement.

GEO. HENRY PREBLE.

THE GAME OF BOSTON.—(III., 581.) I have in my possession a small pamphlet in French, which I bought in Paris more than twenty years ago. It is entitled "Manuel des jeux de Boston, Boston de Fontainebleau, Boston de Lorient, Boston Anglais, Cribbage, Vendome et Cassino, par Van Tenac et Delanoue." Paris, pp. 73. It gives an account of the different varieties of the game mentioned in the title, and they are all very similar. In its description of the game of Boston it says that "it is American in its origin, and dates from the War of Independence, taking the place of whist, which at that time was the popular game in the New World."

A reference to the game is found in the following note on the 364th page of William Tudor's "Letters on the Eastern States," second edition, Boston, 1821.

"A game of cards was invented in Versailles, and called, in honor of the town, *Boston*; the points of the game are allusive—*great independence, little independence, great misery, little misery, &c.* It was composed partly of whist, and partly of quadrille, though partaking most of the former. As it is almost unknown in this country, it may be of use to persons who amuse themselves in this way to know that this is the most interesting game that is played. It is still partially in use in France, but in every circle in the north of Europe, from Amsterdam to St. Petersburg, *Boston* is now almost the exclusive game. A work

has been recently published in France, called *Boston de Flore*; its object is to illustrate botany by a kind of cards."

It has been said that this game was invented by Dr. Franklin, and there is a tradition that he was fond of playing it.

The Boston Club of New Orleans was named after this game, and is one of the oldest social clubs in that city.

Boston.

SAMUEL A. GREEN.

JOHNNY CAKE.—(III., 583.) The following facts, which are to be found in depositions in an old land suit in an adjoining county, will show that W. H. E. is incorrect as to the origin of this name, and we must go back farther than the war of the Revolution for its origin:

"In March and April, 1775, a party from Pennsylvania, known as Hinksons, under Captain John Hinkson, consisting of fifteen men, passed down the Ohio, and up Licking river, and landed at the mouth of Willow Creek, on the east side of the river, about four miles above the present town of Falmouth, and encamped there two nights and a day. While there one of the party, Samuel Wilson, cut a hackberry tree to make a Johnny-cake board."

The tree was standing as late as 1806.
Maysville, Ky. W. D. HIXSON.

BRODHEAD'S EXPEDITION, 1779.—(III. 670.) The reference in Mr. Edson's sketch of Brodhead to Turner's History of the Holland purchasers is an error. The authority is for the statement that Washington dated his orders Oct. 18, 1779, from More's house.

EDITOR.

Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

THE LIFE AND EPOCH OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON. A historical Study. By the Honorable GEORGE SHEA. 8vo, pp. 470. (The Riverside Press.) HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & Co. Boston, 1879.

This book, says the author in his introduction, "had its first step in a monograph on Hamilton as a historical study." This paper appeared in 1877, and was noticed in the Magazine for June of that year (I, 334). It is to the early years of Hamilton that the present volume is specially devoted. It closes with the military relations of Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton with the State of New York. His artillery company was then merged in the Continental Army, and Washington attached Hamilton to his person as one of his aids. He was then selected by the New York Convention as their correspondent at Headquarters. This was in March, 1777. He had then just entered on his twentieth year. That he was remarkable for the early maturity of his character and judgment is undeniable, but that at this period he had made any mark upon his time no sufficient evidence appears. Judge Jones in his Tory history of New York, recently published by the New York Historical Society, makes no mention of him, and he, whose shaft was full of sharpened arrows, would not have overlooked him had he been an important personage or a shining mark.

With all due respect for the learned Judge, it must be said that his enthusiasm has gotten the better of his judgment in his apotheosis of the youth Hamilton. His remarkable qualities of organization and administration, which he later developed in a manner so extraordinary as to win for him the praise of foreign statesmen as the most remarkable character that was produced, had not then arrested the attention of his fellows.

It is well, therefore, that the author has seen fit to enlarge the scope of his essay so as to include what he terms the Epoch of Hamilton, though it may be justly observed here that the Epoch of Hamilton did not begin until the war was over. His epoch was that of the formation of the Union under which we live; the Union which we owe in largest measure to his creative mind and constructive faculties.

The first two chapters of Judge Shea are introductory, and treat of "the Individual," the third, of "the Founder of Empire," the remaining six, of "The Life and Epoch." Under the head of the Individual a somewhat philosophic study is presented of Hamilton's intellectual traits, as illustrated by comparison with other

directing minds, particularly those of France. With Mirabeau, whose genius was however of a far different order, he delights to compare him, and he finds points of intellectual resemblance with Talleyrand. He finds him infinitely superior to Pitt. The death of Hamilton, Mr. Shea says, was timely. This is in one sense true; he was in the fullness of his fame. Occurring at any earlier period, his loss to the country would have been irreparable. His great work of construction was complete. The empire was founded. But it is simply absurd to say that "the death in the fullness of time confirmed the United States in their Empire." These exaggerations are common in the pages of Mr. Shea. They are the result of a vaulting ambition of style, which o'er leaps itself and falls on the other side.

One omission is noticed in these pages. The omission of the name of Hamilton, by pen or lip, in the paeans of the Centennial, is noticed by Mr. Shea with surprise and pain. But on reflection, is this so strange, so surprising, as it at first seems? Hamilton had nothing to do with the Declaration of Independence, played no commanding, controlling, part in the war of independence. His star rose to its zenith at a later day. It shone in full splendor in the debates of the Convention. Its light permeates with crystal radiance the Constitution. When the people of the United States shall celebrate in 1889 the formation of the "more perfect Union," which will have stood the test of a century of difficult experiment, the master workman, who forged the hooks of steel which hold them together, will not be forgotten.

We may with as much justice complain that Mr. Shea in his general sketch of Hamilton neglects all reference to his administrative powers, which excelled that of any man of his time. Before we turn from this branch of the subject, an expression of satisfaction may be recorded that Judge Shea has presented so acceptable and true a picture of Hamilton's charming nature. He was generous, warm hearted, frank. He was the idol of the officers of the army who survived the war, even of those whose political opinions differed from his own. To this the traditions of our revolutionary families bear abundant testimony. In private life he was indeed "the friend whose ardor no adversity could chill, and whose faithfulness no reverse of fortune could alienate." One rare trait he possessed in high degree—that of gratitude; the early kindness of his patrons, the Crugers, was the occasion of his leaving the little island of St. Croix for New York. To the day of his death, one of the family said to the writer, though often

employed by them in extensive law-suits of vital importance, he would never take a dollar from man or woman who bore that name.

In the *Life and Epoch* every item of information on the early period of Hamilton's life is presented, but importance is assigned to inconsiderable matters which distort their true proportions. The subject dazes the author. There was nothing in Hamilton's early career, nothing in his boyhood correspondence, here printed, which is in the least extraordinary. Mr. Shea again repeats the story of the harangue of the young collegian at the famous meeting in the Fields in 1774. Whether or not this tradition be true is of small moment. Certain it is that the contemporary accounts bear no witness to the effect upon public opinion claimed by his biographers. In his account of the differences between the Committee of Correspondence (of Fifty-one, as it is called) of 1774 and the citizens, who met in the Fields, Mr. Shea has merely fallen into a common error of our historians, or has not deemed it necessary to elucidate the subject. A few words will explain the cause of disagreement. In 1765 the merchants of New York inaugurated the plan of non-importation from Great Britain, as a means to obtain the repeal of the Stamp Act, and redress for their other grievances. They were followed by all the other cities. The pressure was severely felt in England, and the Stamp Act was repealed. A continuance of exactions caused a renewal of the non-importation agreement, and Committees of Inspection were appointed to enforce it. But while New York kept her agreement to the loss of four-fifths of her trade, her neighbors, Boston and Philadelphia, broke faith and increased theirs. Naturally the New York merchants grew restive under the unequal bond, and in 1770 notified her sister cities that she would no longer be held by it, unless it should be recommended by a *General Congress of the Colonies*, with power of enforcement. So this scheme of opposition, which Lord North said was sufficient to have secured its purpose, if the other colonies had observed it with the same fidelity as New York, failed.

When the news of the Boston port bill reached that city, it was resolved (May 13, 1774) to recommend all the colonies "to stop all importations from Great Britain and exportations to Great Britain." In New York a Committee of Fifty-one was raised under the direction of the merchants. The committee organized on the 23d, and at once addressed the Boston committee, suggesting the immediate calling of a Congress. Boston evaded the question, and pressed the demand for a suspension of trade. The New York committee adhered to the plan of a Congress, and to her persistence is due the famous First Continental Congress of 1774. Dissatisfied with their defeat, the malcontents,

led by Alexander McDougall, a member of the Committee of Fifty-one, and Isaac Sears, who ran a sloop in the coasting trade to Boston, called the meeting on the Fields, which approved the Boston plan, and adopted a resolution of the Boston town meeting of the 13th May, almost in their own words, "That a non-importation agreement would prove the salvation of North America." The Committee of Fifty-one insisted that the whole subject should be left in the hands of the Congress, and the common sense of the city sustained them in their evidently wise course. In July the delegates presented by the committee were elected. The committee of Fifty-one had the honor of inaugurating that "*grand system of politics*," which culminated in the American Union.

Hamilton rendered more practical service with his pen. His answers to "A Farmer's" letters were able and timely and remarkable for a youth of eighteen, but it must not be forgotten that the period was one of discussion, and that the journals teemed with political essays. That they placed him in "the first line of public men" is a statement not to be for a moment admitted. Talleyrand's famous caution against "too much zeal" finds fit application here. But we are not inclined to cavil with an admiration which knows no bounds.

Of the externals of the volume, no praise would be too great. Its superb typography, its mellow tinted paper, will delight the heart of the book-lover. We hope Mr. Shea will continue his studies until his essays become a complete biography; but we commend to him a careful study of Hamilton's simple, lucid style. The key-note is pitched too high for modern taste.

CAMPAIGN OF THE WAR OF 1812-15
AGAINST GREAT BRITAIN. Sketched and criticised, with brief biographies of the American engineers, by Brevet Major-General GEORGE W. CULLUM, Colonel Corps of Engineers, U. S. A., retired. 8vo, pp. 412. JAMES MILLER, New York, 1879.

The purpose of this volume is not to give a minute account of the second war with Great Britain, but sketches of the campaigns in sufficient detail for an understanding of their military features, and the tactical and strategical errors incident to them. This, the historical part of the work, runs through ten chapters each one of which bears the name of one of the commanders, except Chapter IX., which is devoted to sketches of engineers with whom the distinguished author was intimate during his professional career.

The sketch of General Williams, which opens the volume, is of peculiar interest. On the creation of a Corps of Engineers, by the law of

March, 1802, he was appointed to its command, and by the terms of the law became first Superintendent of the Military Academy. To the wise impulse given by General Williams much of the brilliant future of this institution is ascribed. Perhaps to his example also may be traced some of the proud tenacious exclusiveness, which is to this day a marked characteristic of the corps. Because his idea of the dignity of his position did not coincide with the views of the limit of his command entertained by the Secretary of War, Colonel Williams threw up his position in 1803, and retired to private life. The reader will not be surprised to find General Cullum, himself of the Engineer Corps, defending the position taken by his predecessor, and condemning the course of the Secretary, but that the latter was right is clear enough from the sequel; the official order of the Commander-in-Chief, by which Colonel Williams was reappointed, explicitly directing that the officers of the engineers should not interfere with the command of the line. In 1807 Williams directed the fortification of New York. Later an account is given of the personal disagreements of Eustis, the Secretary of War, and of his animosity to the Military Academy and the Corps of Engineers, in which this Secretary fares no better than his predecessors. In consequence of this disagreement with the War Department, which we may be pardoned for saying has been a chronic condition of the relations between West Point and Washington, Colonel Williams again resigned. An effort was made to restore him in 1813, and the General was good enough to intimate that the offer of restoration, with the rank of Major-General "could not be declined," since the government had "acquiesced in the principles for which he had contended;" but, as General Cullum observes, this proposition, for some unknown reason, was not carried into effect. Sufficient reason appears in the intimation of Colonel Williams.

A biographical sketch of Major-General Joseph G. Totten carries with it a brief account of the campaign of 1812. The vital strategic blunders of the plan of the campaign, which is summed up as an inglorious fiasco, are directly charged on the Secretary of War. The true objective points of attack are pointed out to have been Halifax, or Quebec, or Montreal, any one of which would have determined the war, while Detroit and Mackinac were secondary and unimportant. Amid all the disgrace of the campaign, Totten gained a reputation which he brought down, unsullied, to our own day of larger enterprise.

A biographical sketch of Lieutenant-Colonel Eleazer D. Wood next accompanies a history of the Western campaign of 1813. General John Armstrong had replaced Eustis as Secretary of War, but began his military dispositions with a

repetition of his predecessor's blunder in the movement of isolated columns upon weak points of the enemy. Only northwestern operations are described. Here the conduct of the campaign by Harrison and Harmer is severely censured as unmilitary, and the responsibility of its failure thrown upon the former; even the glorious final success on the Thames, which won him the Presidential Chair in 1840. General Cullum ascribes to the pusillanimity, inefficiency and blunders of Proctor. Wood fell later in the campaign while gallantly leading a column in a sortie from Fort Erie.

With the Eastern campaign of 1813 there is a sketch of Brigadier-General Joseph G. Swift, in which the operations of the army of the center and right are described; and in succeeding chapters the campaign of 1814, the siege and defence of Lake Erie, the Chesapeake and Louisiana Campaign, all of which the student of military strategy may study to advantage. Simple maps greatly aid in the understanding of the author's theories and criticisms. To his military peers General Cullum must look for adequate appreciation of his criticisms. But the general reader will be amply rewarded by a careful study of its pages. There is no higher authority than their writer.

LIFE, LETTERS AND JOURNALS OF

GEORGE TICKNOR. Ninth edition. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 524—533. JAMES R. OSGOOD & CO. Boston, 1878.

The interest of these volumes is sufficiently shown by the striking fact that, although they were only first given to the public in the early part of 1876, the ninth edition has already been reached, while the English demand has been supplied by a separate issue, printed at London. They were greeted with pleasure on the Continent, as well as in England, and were the occasion of numerous critical reviews, which united in praise of the charm of the autobiography and writings of the genial, accomplished and scholarly gentleman, whose experiences in the life of letters they faithfully record, and of satisfaction with the frank, not unfriendly character of his criticisms of the phases of European society which opened to his close vision. In our August number (I., 550) attention was particularly called to the admirable reviews of the London edition, which came out consecutively in the April and May numbers of the *Revue des deux Mondes*, in which Mr. R. Blierzy, under the title of *Les Mémoires d'un Humaniste Américain*, recited Mr. Ticknor's youth and early travels; Europe, from 1835 to 1838 (as seen by him); and the old age of a Federalist. These pages give an independent judgment, from the European point of view, of this distinguished gentleman, whose name will be more surely

perpetuated by these admirable volumes than even by the classical and exhaustive history of Spanish literature, which makes him familiar to all lovers of belles lettres.

The first ten chapters of the memoirs are from the pen of Mr. George S. Hillard, and the form and proportions of the work are of his casting, but his illness led to the assumption of the task by Mrs. Ticknor and Miss Anna Ticknor, his eldest daughter. How truthfully, yet modestly, the pious duty has been performed, the public taste, that final and only true arbiter, has already pronounced. The purpose of his life is shown to have been in thorough accord with the fundamental principle of the ancient philosophic schools—the acquisition of knowledge in order to impart it; the subordination of even personal gratification of the highest excellence to that of greatest usefulness.

To the student the account of his University life at Göttingen, and the admirable manner in which he found time to mingle in the society of the most celebrated persons, travel somewhat, yet pursue a broad line of studies, and amass copious notes for future use, will prove of exceptional interest; while the general reader will enjoy the tender simplicity of his familiar correspondence, and his keen appreciation of men and things, at one of the most interesting stages of the panorama of the century. In the course of his long career he made the personal acquaintance of many of the celebrities of England and the Continent. Before he went abroad he had at twenty-three been complimented with the seat of honor at the table of President Madison. In England he was the familiar guest of Roscoe, Sir Humphrey Davy, Byron, Gifford, Campbell and the publisher Murray. In Germany he was the intimate of Blumenbach, and Wolf, 'the corypheus of German philologists,' and the first Greek scholar of his day. In his *Journal* of this period he gives an account of his visit to Goethe, which is striking in its naturalness. It was at this time, 1816, that he was offered the Professorship of French and Spanish literature at Harvard, which he accepted, and after three years of careful preparation entered upon its duties on the 10th August, 1819. Before his return, however, his travels and studies led him through France, Italy and Spain, and his journal, which records interviews with Schlegel, Madame de Stael, Humboldt, Pozzo di Borgo, the 'evil star of the First Napoleon,' Chateaubriand, and Lafayette, whom he visited at Chateau La Grange. In Rome he was presented to Pope Pius VII., for whom he had the highest respect, because of his resistance to "the Bonaparte," whom he hated with the ardor of a true Federalist. Here also he met Bunsen and Niebuhr, who "filled him with admiration and astonishment" by his immense learning and memory.

The beauties of Southern Spain give occasion for descriptions of scenery and architecture, which are exquisite gems of precision and nice discrimination of language. Here he drew large draughts of inspiration for his future task. On his way north to take his leave of Europe he met Talleyrand in Paris, and records an interesting conversation, in which Washington, Hamilton and Burr were mentioned. In London he saw Lords Holland, Brougham and Mackintosh; in Scotland, Scott, Southey and Wordsworth. On his return to America he was twenty-eight years of age. He immediately devoted himself to his duties, and upon the collection and arrangement of his library, which became not only a famous factor in American literature, but the familiar resort of men of letters of both continents. For fifteen years he continued his active life as a professor, when, partly dissatisfied with the narrow management of Harvard, and immediately urged by the ill health of his daughter, the admirable lady whose inherited taste and culture are shown in these volumes, he resigned his charge, and again visited Europe.

The record of his second voyage is as delightful as that of the first. It is more interesting, as presenting the change which had taken place in the European world between Waterloo and the days of July. The restoration had disappeared. The King of the French sat on the throne of the King of France. After fifteen years of reaction the Revolution had resumed its sway, and France had moved one step forward towards the freedom asserted in 1789. After nearly two years' absence, Mr. Ticknor returned in 1838 to the United States.

Great as were his services as an instructor, it was well that he resigned his professorship. Free from other engagements, he now set resolutely to work at his *History of Spanish Literature*, in which he had the advice of Prescott and the aid of Irving, who, as minister at Madrid, gave him peculiar facilities. The work appeared simultaneously in London and New York, in 1849, and passed through four editions. A Spanish foundation was made and the work received with unqualified praise. It secured him a not unequal place in the triumvirate, Irving, Prescott, Ticknor, which has made, in styles as different as they are felicitous, the history and literature of Spain familiar themes to English ears. Later in life Mr. Ticknor took great interest in the Boston Public Library, which he determined to make a free library. He made to it extensive gifts of special collections of books and devoted fourteen years to its service, during which he made a third visit to Europe on its business. He again found a new order of things; Napoleon the Third was on the throne he had "surprised," but of this there is small mention. He returned to America from this his last visit in 1857. The next year he lost his dearest and most congenial

friend in Prescott, whose life he wrote. The clearness of his perception was shown by his foresight as to the results of secession. He saw that nothing but war was possible after Sumter, and foreseen the result of the war. Beyond the war he saw nothing but "the blackness of thick darkness resting on the South," but he spared no effort, personal or public, to mitigate the fury of popular passion. To the close of his life he retained his interest in letters and literary men, and died with contentment and cheerfulness on the 26th of January, 1871, in his eighty-first year. His Spanish and Portuguese works he left by will to the Boston Public Library.

EARLY CHAPTERS OF CAYUGA HISTORY. JESUIT MISSIONS IN GOI-O-GOUEN, 1656-1684. Also an account of the Sulpitian missions among the emigrant Cayugas about Quinte Bay in 1668. By CHARLES HAWLEY, with an introduction by JOHN GILMARY SHEA. 8vo, pp. 106. IVISON & PERRY, Auburn, N. Y., 1879.

Mr. Hawley, the accomplished president of the Cayuga Historical Society, recites the contents of this pamphlet to be substantially as follows: Such extracts were made from the *Relations* of the Jesuit fathers as described their labors among the Cayugas, whose Canton, known to the French as Goi-o-Gouen, lay largely within the present county of Cayuga. Translations of these extracts were made, which first appeared in a series of articles in the Auburn Daily Advertiser; the history of the mission being carried to 1672, which was as far as the *Relations* accessible to Mr. Hawley extended. These articles were collected in a pamphlet.

A second volume was then undertaken with co-operation of Dr. John Gilmary Shea, whose familiarity with the entire range of subject is well known. From the material in his possession translations were made, and the history of the Cayuga mission carried down to its close. The proof sheets of the entire work have had his intelligent supervision, and the introduction is from his pen. The work is prefaced by a chart prepared by Gen. John S. Clark, showing the location of the Iroquois Five Nations and mission sites, 1656-1684, and numerous notes have been contributed by this gentleman, who is an enthusiastic investigator of the archæologic remains of this peculiarly interesting section of our country.

The introduction of Mr. Shea supplies a valuable bibliographical account of the *Relations* themselves. These *Relations*, so often quoted, are almost the only original deposits of information concerning the Jesuit missions which were a part of the French scheme of American civilization and empire. They form a series of small vol-

umes issued in France from 1632 to 1672, on the annual arrival at her ports of the ships from Canada with American produce and the report of the Superior of the missions. They were cheaply printed, in some cases in several editions, and widely circulated. They led to the establishments in Canada of the Sulpitians, the Ursuline and Hospital nuns. A strong opposition arising to the Jesuits, with Count de Frontenac at its head, the Recollects were introduced to replace the Jesuits, and Indian missions under Sulpitians and secular priests encouraged.

The Jesuit *Relations* thus dropped out of sight and were almost unknown except from the use made of them by Du Creux or Charlevoix. With the foundation of American libraries, the *Relations* found their way to notice. Bancroft and Murray first drew attention to them. Of one volume a single copy only was known. It was secured by Faribault for the Parliament Library in Quebec, but destroyed with the collection by a mob. Fortunately Mr. James Lenox had caused an accurate transcript to be made of it, from which it was reprinted with two others, the most rare in the series. A bibliographical account of the whole collection was prepared by Dr. O'Callaghan, and printed in the Proceedings of the New York Historical Society. Since then the Canadian government has reprinted the whole series in three volumes, accessible to all.

This is the pioneer attempt to determine accurately, with careful maps, the precise sites of the missions. All honor to Cayuga for leading the way in this important work.

The first of the chapters, entitled Jesuit Missions among the Cayugas, begins with an account of the first effort made to reach the Iroquois by a mission in 1656. It originated apparently in a plot laid by the Iroquois in 1653 to induce the Hurons, whom they subdued and drew in to their protection from the French, to make common cause with them. Nevertheless it was resolved to accept the proposal of the Iroquois to send a mission to them, and Father Le Moyne, a veteran Huron missionary, was despatched to Onondaga in 1654. He was warmly and hospitably received. In 1655 others followed, and in 1656, although treachery was feared, two sloops left Quebec for Onondaga with the mission on board, which was confided to the care of Father René Menard, whose Relation makes the second chapter.

In the third is an account of the escape of the fifty-three colonists from the fortified house in Lake Ganentaa, and their safe arrival at Montreal. This mission was not reestablished until 1669, when it was successfully undertaken by Father de Carheil at the instance of Garcontie, the Chief of the Onondagas. The Cayuga mission was specially patronized by Saonchiogwa, the Chief of the Cantons, who was

second only in influence to Garacantie among the Iroquois. The letters of Carheil are full of details. He was delighted with Cayuga, less pleased with the Mohawk Valley. Oneida and Onondaga, as well as Seneca, he found little adapted for the chase, but more than a thousand deer were killed every year near Cayuga.

The Relation bears testimony on every page to the earnest zeal of the Jesuits; their eager desire to save souls; their ambition to be sacrificed as martyrs. Curiously but naturally enough, their persistence in baptism of the moribund savages led to the belief that they were the occasion of death, which had often serious consequences.

The extraordinary powers and conversation of the great Huron chief, the Rat, who alone was a match for Frontenac in wit and repartee, are alluded to.

The next division relates the history of the Sulpician mission at Quinte Bay from Dollier de Casson's History of Montreal, first published by the Montreal Historical Society in 1869, and translated by Dr. Shea for the present work. The mission was organized in 1668. The Jesuits were replaced at Kente by the Sulpitians in 1675.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY EPOCH. Being a history of France from the beginning of the first French revolution to the end of the second empire. By HENRI VAN LAUN. 2 vols., 8vo, pp., 503-554. D. APPLETON & Co., New York, 1879.

In these volumes Mr. Van Laun, who is well known to the English reading public as the translator of Taine's masterful History of English Literature, presents a concise account of the most eventful period in the history of France, a period which includes the rise and fall of two republics and two monarchies, one absolute, the other constitutional, and of two empires, leaving the government in 1878 in the hands to which it passed in 1789—the hands of the people. The writer does not claim to have made original investigation. He relies chiefly on the *Histoire des Français*, by M. M. Lavallée and Loch, the historic sketches of de Goncourt and Quinet, the works of Carlyle, the introduction being drawn from the original and admirable work of Taine on the Ancien Regime.

The suggestive titles of the books of the first volume are, *The Gathering of the Storm*, *The Republic*, *The Directory*, and *The Consulate*. The style is the energetic style of which Carlyle set the example. The paragraphs are pictures, the sentences brush-dashes, strong in color and crisp in form. In his chapter on the Consulate the course of Bonaparte is treated with fairness, the difficulties of his position are explained, and the gradual evolution of the first

empire, as a logical sequence of the political condition of France, divided at home and threatened from without, is explained. Here for the first time we find the admission that the imperialism of Napoleon was the choice of France, and that she opposed him with pride, as the military incarnation of the revolution, to the feudal system against which it was in perpetual revolt.

The second volume gives an account of the Empire, of the Restoration, the Reign of Louis Philippe, and the Second Republic. The new emperor was acknowledged by all the sovereigns of Europe except three. The King of Spain was the first, the King of Prussia the second to acknowledge the new government, the latter with almost obsequious flattery.

In his assumption of the Imperial dignity Van Laun considers that the Emperor was self-deceived. He credits him, however, with a sincere regard for the interests of France, and also with a desire for the maintenance of peace. All the wars of Europe were charged upon the inordinate ambition of Napoleon, but a fair examination will show that he was rarely the aggressive party; unless that his existence as an emperor was a perpetual aggression. Here was the one fault of his career: Had he not formed a dynasty he would, till the last, have been able to command the assistance of the entire republican element of the continent, and perhaps to have changed the political condition of all Europe.

The fall of the restoration is properly ascribed to the innate obstinacy of the Bourbons; that of the constitutional monarchy to the incapacity of the ministry. The two great causes were the contempt in which Louis Philippe was held for his parsimony, and the natural disgust of France with the secondary place to which she had fallen through his vacillating and weak foreign policy. The second republic was doomed to fail. Indeed, permanent government seemed impossible any where. There was a great financial crisis all over Europe. And the social question was in every man's mouth. Industry languished everywhere, and the relations between capital and labor had divided society, indeed all Europe, into two camps. The struggle came, and socialism, which had appealed to the sword, fell by the sword.

How Louis Napoleon took advantage of the favorable moment, stabbed in the dark the Republic he had sworn to defend, and revived the Empire, is concisely told. It is with some surprise, however, that we note the omission by this keen observer of the one important fact in Napoleon's reign; that which gave to it all of its brilliancy. The discovery of gold in California, in 1848, inaugurated a new era in modern society. With the enormous increase of the specie basis credit was again expanded, confidence restored and enterprise and industries of every kind received an impulse which carried

the empire with it on an irresistible wave. It was the gold of California and not the star of Napoleon that cast over the second empire the glitter of prosperity, and brought to it the name of the Golden Age. The history closes with the deposition of the emperor and the restoration of the Republic—may it live forever!

It has never been our fortune to read a history of France so calm, so fair, so dispassionate as this of Van Laun.

ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE
SOUTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL SOCIETY on
their Twenty-second Anniversary, May 25,
1877, by J. J. Pringle Smith. 8vo, pp. 35,
App. vii. LUCAS & RICHARDSON, Charleston,
S. C.

With admiration for the chaste classic style of this address and respect for the critical scholarship which every line reveals, we must nevertheless express a regret that it was ever delivered, or rather that the sentiments which prompt it still exist in the hearts of the people of the Southern States. It opens with a statement to which the most incessant repetition can not impart one particle of truth. "Sixteen years ago," it says, this State (South Carolina), with ten others, withdrew from the Federal union, seeking safety, peace and happiness under a government within their own borders, so organized as to them seemed most likely to effect these objects. War was waged to force them again into the Union." The converse of this is the truth. The nation called "the United-States," to preserve safety, peace and happiness, and the government its people had chosen, determined to permit no strange foreign government to be formed within her limits. Ten States, led by South Carolina, waged war against the United States to establish such a foreign government within the territory of the Nation. They were defeated. With a magnanimity of which there is no example in history—a mistaken magnanimity, it may be—the nation restored to the rebellious States the rights they had forfeited. If Mr. Smith truly expresses the sentiment of the Southerners, which we doubt, there is future strife in store for the country, and every lover of free institutions will regret that the ten States were territorially reorganized, and the name of South Carolina had not been stricken from the roll of the Union.

Able as the reasoning of Mr. Smith is, it is after all but a reopening of the old argument which Webster closed on the floor of the Senate, and which it was supposed that Lee surrendered with his sword at Appomattox Court House. If this were not the result, the issue must be tried again. Sentiment will not be permitted to control the next settlement. We prefer to believe that Mr. Smith does not truly represent the opinions of the Southern people.

THE GENEALOGIES AND ESTATES OF
CHARLESTOWN, IN THE COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX, AND COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS, 1629-1818. By THOMAS BELLOWES WYMAN. 2 vols., Royal 8vo, A-J and K-Z, pp. 1173. DAVID CLAPP & SON, Boston, 1879.

In the May number (III. 327) announcement was made of the intended publication of the long researches of the late lamented Thomas Bellows Wyman in the genealogies of old Middlesex. The work is now given to the public in two superb volumes, edited with punctilious care, in the most approved method of arrangement, alphabetically and synthetically, and is admirably printed by the competent publishers.

The first volume is prefaced by a steel engraved portrait of the quaint and charming author; the second by a "Plan of Charlestown peninsula, in the State of Massachusetts, from accurate surveys by Peter Tufts, Junior, Esqr., 1818."

By the nuncupative will of Mr. Wyman, Mr. Henry H. Edes was designated to carry forward to completion the printing of the work in the earliest stages of which the author was arrested by the hand of Death. The familiarity of the editor with the author's plan, his intimate knowledge of his peculiar habits of thought and idiomatic expression, have enabled him to approximate most closely to the purpose of his friend. This is apparent to all those who had occasion to call to their aid Mr. Wyman's professional services as a searcher and copyist of genealogical material. We have under our eye a collection of this material made by him some years ago in genealogical investigation, and speak from personal knowledge.

The excellent critics of the Boston papers, whose associations give them peculiar advantages of local observation and knowledge—Mr. Charles W. Tuttle in the Daily Advertiser, and Mr. George E. Ellis in the Evening Transcript—unite in unqualified praise of the "great work" of Mr. Wyman, and the admirable manner in which it has been carried to completion by Mr. Edes. It would be mere supererogation in any one less qualified than they to add one word to their encomiums.

The work has been fostered by the authorities of the city of Charlestown, in the honor of which it will stand as a monument when brass shall have been broken and marble crumbled into dust.

A memoir of Mr. Wyman is announced to appear shortly in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register. It is greatly to be regretted that it is not included in these volumes, where in the future it will be naturally sought.

OSGOOD'S GUIDE-BOOKS.—NEW ENGLAND; A HAND-BOOK FOR TRAVELERS. A guide to the chief cities and popular resorts of New England, and to its scenery and historical attractions; with the western and northern borders from New York to Quebec. With six maps and eleven plans. Sixth edition, revised and augmented. 16mo, pp. 433. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & Co. Boston, 1879.

THE MIDDLE STATES; A HAND-BOOK FOR TRAVELERS. A guide to the chief cities and popular resorts of the Middle States, and to their scenery and historic attractions; with the northern frontier, from Niagara Falls to Montreal; also Baltimore, Washington and Northern Virginia. Third edition. 16mo. pp. 469. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & Co. Boston, 1879.

THE MARITIME PROVINCES; A HAND-BOOK FOR TRAVELERS. A guide to the chief cities, coasts and islands of the maritime provinces of Canada, and to their scenery and historic attractions; with the Gulf and River St. Lawrence to Quebec and Montreal; also Newfoundland and the Labrador coasts. With four maps and four plans. 16mo, pp. 336. JAMES R. OSGOOD & Co. Boston, 1875.

THE WHITE MOUNTAINS; A HAND-BOOK FOR TRAVELERS. A guide to the peaks, passes and ravines of the White Mountains of New Hampshire, and to the adjacent railroads, highways and villages; with the lakes and mountains of Western Maine; also Lake Winnepesaukee and the upper Connecticut Valley. With six maps and six panoramas. 16mo, pp. 436. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & Co. Boston, 1879.

These celebrated guide-books made their first appearance in the order in which they are above given, and are too well known to need any commendation. With the clean, clear type of the Riverside press, for which this American Chiswick is famous, they contain a vast amount of carefully collated information in compact space and handy form.

Their popularity is shown by the number of editions issued. No traveler can well afford to be without them. The best houses on the routes are recommended, and their prices given.

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW—FOURTEENTH YEAR. JULY, 1879. 8vo. STRAHAN & Co. Limited. London. INTERNATIONAL NEWS COMPANY, New York.

In the leading article of the July number of this periodical, which maintains its character for serious discussion of themes of the higher order, Mr. Thomas Hughes presents, in the form of a review of Mr. Bigelow's recent life of Benjamin Franklin, a concise analysis of the character of the American Sage, which is intended to modify in some respects the judgment held of him in Great Britain. He is shown to have been the most successful man of his day; the editor of the most influential paper in America; the most prolific and the most popular author on either side of the Atlantic, and the inventor of mechanical appliances, which made his name familiar in every home; notwithstanding which, while there have been complete editions of Franklin's works and numerous biographies of him published on both sides of the Atlantic since 1800, only "one slight biographical sketch in Chambers' Cheap Library and one article in the Edinburgh Review of 1806 remain the only notices which have been issued from the English press of the greatest of American philosophers and diplomatists."

Mr. Hughes seeks the reasons for this striking neglect, which has obscured Franklin's fame in England, and finds therein political and religious prejudice: the first founded on the belief that while the American Resident in England he was secretly undermining the allegiance of the colonies before the war, and at its close was the one American Commissioner who attempted to impose unworthy terms on England; the second, that while professing Christianity, he was in fact a skeptic, and veiled hostility under a guise of toleration. The first of these charges is taken up and disposed of, and a just tribute is paid to the honesty and frankness of Franklin's character. It is in regard to his attitude in the negotiation of the peace of 1783 that English prejudice was aroused against him. He is supposed to have desired to humiliate England, to have shown suspicion of Grenville, to have instilled the same feeling into the minds of Adams and Jay, and to have brought about the ultimate refusal of all compensation to loyalists, after having led the English Government to expect his support in this branch of the negotiations. Some new light was thrown on the general subject of the correspondence between John Quincy Adams and William Jay, as to the parts taken by their respective fathers in the treaty, published in the January number of the Magazine (III., 39), from which it appears that while Jay, with the serene judgment which marked his entire career, always maintained terms of mutual good understand-

ing with both of his colleagues, the same good feeling did not exist between Franklin and Adams.

In the opinion of Mr. Hughes, Franklin's conduct in the negotiation was alone consistent. "It was Jay," he says, "not Franklin, who stood out for a preliminary declaration of independence from England. Jay and Adams, not Franklin, who were afterwards prepared to waive such a declaration, and even to negotiate separately, when they found that the French Minister, de Vergennes, was not unwilling that England should delay the recognition of independence." In the sharp struggle between Franklin and Shelburne, the one to consolidate the alliance of America and France, the other to weaken that bond, and in its place to establish an alliance between Great Britain and America, equal credit is ascribed to each, and full justice is done to the motives of each of these "thoroughly upright and able men." Each was acting in the best interests of his country. In this initial struggle may be found the germ of the two great parties, the Federal and Republican, which, leaning respectively to English and French forms of government, divided the sentiment of the United States in the earlier days of its history.

The prejudice against Franklin on religious grounds Mr. Hughes considers as more intelligible, but quite as unreasonable; and in fact justice to a man of the independence of thought of Franklin could hardly be expected from the narrow restricted limits, within which, until recently, the church of every denomination has sought to confine the speculation of science. The generation has not yet passed of those who heard in their youth the anathemas of the church against the infidelity of geology. We have seen it only recently stated that Robespierre's first important cause was a defense of the introduction of Franklin's lightning rods against the charge of impiety. Notwithstanding the opinion generally held of Franklin's religious belief, and of his independence of definite creeds, Mr. Hughes finds in the picture of this master of practical life, as painted by himself in his correspondence, that "if he never lifts us above the earth, or beyond the domain of experience and common-sense, he retained himself a strong hold on the invisible which underlies it." Mr. Adams, in the correspondence which has been quoted, says that "worldly wisdom was Franklin's god," and hints at his disbelief in a future state. There is nothing in Franklin's life or writings which justifies such a suspicion. Indeed in his letter to President Stiles of Yale College, written at eighty-four on the confines of eternity, he expressly avows his belief in God, in a divine government of the world, in the immortality of the soul, and in the doctrine of reward and punishment in another life.

REVUE DES DEUX-MONDES, XLIX
ANNÉE, TROISIÈME PÉRIODE. Tome trente
et unième. 15 February, 1879. Paris, 1879.
For sale by F. W. CHRISTERN, New York.

Under the title of "A Hero of the Seven Years' War, the Marquis Louis de Montcalm," M. Hamont contributed to the February number of this stately and always interesting periodical one of the most charming biographical sketches which has appeared in many years. The precise details on which it rests consist in an unpublished journal and numerous letters of Montcalm, *Le Canada by Dussieux et Montcalm, le Canada Français by de Bonnechose*, of which a review was given in these pages. Montcalm by Sommervogel, and *Le Marquis de Montcalm*, by the Abbé Martin. The manuscripts were communicated to Mr. Hamont by M. Margry, whose recent work on the French Settlements in America is fresh in the minds of our readers.

The traits of this heroic character from early youth, when he drew his inspiration from a study of Plutarch in the original, to the hour in which, unsupported by his own lieutenants and overwhelmed by a superior force, he fell on the plains of Abraham, a sacrifice to the criminal neglect of the French ministry, are drawn by a master hand.

At twenty-two he already displayed the type of the true soldier, with the inner lining of a lofty and refined soul. Tempted to the gambling table by the gay young officers of the Strasbourg garrison, and for a moment carried away by the fatal passion which it is said never relinquishes its hold upon its victims, he proved an exception to the rule, and breaking away in shame from his excesses, he found in the study of the Greek classics a cure for even this disease. He was more fortunate in two associations he made at this period, one with an officer, the Marquis de la Fare, the other with Chauvelin, the Keeper of the Seals, a mimister fashioned in the mould of Louvois. Still more fortunate was he in his marriage with the granddaughter of Denis Talon, a love match, even though in the reign of Louis XV., when love and marriage were rarely synonymous terms.

On the disgrace of Chauvelin, despairing of obtaining a regiment, his one ambition, he followed La Fare to the wars of the Austrian succession and at once distinguished himself by his ardent zeal and indomitable resolution. Promoted colonel of the regiment of Auxerrois, he was sent to Italy, and held the difficult line of communication between Bayard and Asidagna with an iron hand. At Plaisance he led his regiment over the enemy's redoubts and fell within the lines, desperately wounded by five sabre cuts from a Croat hussar. He was found

senseless on the field the next morning by the Austrians. At the peace he was promoted to a brigade.

The strength of his character was in its moral force. He resembled the heroes of Plutarch in his antique stoicism, the dramatic characters of Euripides and Sophocles, in the proud equanimity with which he bore unflinching the changes and trials and sufferings of life.

Of all men, he was the man for an independent and distant command. It needed a wide field of operations to draw out his latent resources and show the variety of his powers of organization and administration. Such a field was Canada at the critical moment when the seven years' war broke out. D'Argenson saw his capacity and charged him with the defence of New France.

Our own able and fascinating chronicler, Mr. Parkman, has told the story of the rise and fall of the great empire which France founded on our continent, with a thoroughness and precision that renders any fresh recital superfluous, but even those most familiar with his pages will find delight in the dramatic manner in which the difficulties and the dangers which beset the martial governor, and the unwavering activity and unconquerable resolution with which they were met—a resolution which partook of the traits rarely combined, of unbounded audacity and a prudence which neglected no precaution, overlooked no detail. The passages in the sketch, in which the author defends and frees Montcalm from the charge of encouraging, his savage allies to acts of barbarism, are peculiarly interesting. With the wonderful facility which the French have always shown in their adaptation to the modes of thought and action of savage tribes, Montcalm acquired over the redskins an almost superhuman influence. Nothing can be more dramatic than the description of the scene when he met the Indian tribes in council, and threw into the midst of the assembly the necklace, which was to remain the emblem of the Union between France and her Indian allies. It was to this scene and this emblem that the French appealed when they sought the assistance of the Indians to the allied cause in 1780, and their appeal was not in vain.

Notwithstanding his self-reliance, Montcalm never underrated the imminent peril of the colony. He knew the apathy, the indifference, the degradation of Versailles. "We shall fight," he wrote to the Minister, when his entire force to hold the frontier and garrison the posts was but seven thousand men. "We shall fight, and we shall bury ourselves if need be beneath the ruins of the colony;" and he kept his word. In the general decrepitude, moral, political and financial, into which France fell, the heroism of Montcalm alone sufficed to

save from the general wreck the lustre of her military glory and the honor of her flag.

NOTICE

THIRD SESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF AMERICANISTS, BRUSSELS, SEPTEMBER, 1879

Through the kindness of the Rev. B. F. DeCosta we have been favored with the newspaper reports of this session and a letter from M. E. Beauvois, of Corberon, one of the most distinguished of its French members.

The session is described to have been more brilliant than either of those that preceded it. The King of the Belgians, the President of Venezuela, and several high officials, past and present, civil and military, were present. The papers sent in were more thorough and scholarly in their treatment than those before read. The official report will consist of two volumes, and be ready for delivery by midsummer of next year.

The next, the fourth session of the Congress, will be held at Madrid or Seville, in 1881.

The Americans at the Congress were very desirous to have the next session held in the United States, but as no formal request to this effect from persons high in authority was presented to the Congress, and as a formal invitation was received from the Spanish Government, the Council of Direction decided in favor of Spain.

To the proposition of the American delegates it was suggested that if they seriously desired to hold a session in America, the Congress might be summoned in the interim between the sessions; that is, in 1880. These sessions, parallel and independent of each other, would not be competing, but, on the contrary, would serve to recruit new members, who would make part of both Congresses. M. Beauvois suggests, in addition, that the American session might treat of the later centuries, while the European might be properly confined to the pre-Columbian period and the century of discovery.

To this, with deference to the experience and learning of M. Beauvois, we suggest that the year 1883, the centennial of the Definitive Treaty of Peace, the celebration of which will be a great national event, and therefore peculiarly attractive to foreigners, will be the most appropriate time for the holding of an American session; and we further think that in view of the great interest displayed in all that concerns our pre-historic remains, American archaeologists will not be content with a plan of papers confined to post-Columbian history.

EDITOR.

INDEX

- Adams, John Q., correspondence between William Jay and—treaty of peace, 1783, 39.
- Adams, John, of the Connecticut line—parentage of, 516.
- Adams, Henry—life and writings of Albert Gallatin, noticed, 697.
- Adams, Nelson D.—parentage of John Adams of Connecticut line, 516.
- Adventurers—first French, in 1776, 515.
- Alleghany Co., Pa.—graveyard inscriptions in, 449.
- Allen, George—catalogue of his chess collection, noticed, 75.
- Allston—life of, noticed, 215.
- Almanacs—three old, 514.
- America—ox tails used in, 53; first linen and calico printing in, 57; cultivated countries of old, noticed, 212; first great quarto bible in, 311, 455; telegraph in, noticed, 321; introduction of camels in, 581; first bank in, 694; Cannibalism in North, 761.
- American Antiquarian—noticed, 68, 597, 598.
- American Antiquarian Society—noticed, 643.
- American Archives—report of librarian of Congress upon, noticed, 645.
- American Armies—list of French officers who served in the, with commissions prior to the treaties made between France and the thirteen United States, 364.
- American—first editions of English classics, 54; Association for Advancement of Science, noticed, 63; Journal of Numismatics, noticed, 68; colleges, noticed, 69; their students and work, noticed, 71; ornithology, noticed, 72; portrait gallery, noticed, 77; whale fishery, noticed, 78; printer, noticed, 79; (Spanish) documents printed or inedited, 175; Darbies, 198; history of literature, noticed, 209; jurisprudence influence of New York on, *Horatio Seymour*, 217; newspapers in 1789, 261; early printing, 262; revolution, French history of the, 264; cyclopaedia of history, by *Benson J. Lossing*, announced, 327.
- Americanists—international congress of, noticed, 65; notice of, 590, 773.
- Amory, Thomas C.—Gen. Sullivan in R. I., 1783, 511, 692; justification of Gen. Sullivan, 594.
- André, remains, 319, 454; monument inscription, 453; plot, 638, 761; not buried at Tappan, 574; the case of Major J. C. Stoddridge, 739; prison at Tappan, 743; the sufferer and Arnold the traitor, correspondence between Josiah Quincy, Jared Sparks and Benjamin Tallmadge, 747; route of, 756.
- André and Arnold, 358.
- Angibeaup, Louis Noel—637.
- Antiquarian—the American, noticed, 68, 597, 598.
- Antiquarian Society, Philadelphia—numismatic and, noticed, 588; proceedings of, noticed, 634.
- Apponyi, Flora Haines—libraries of California, noticed, 645.
- Archives, American—report on noticed, 645.
- Army duel, 638.
- Arnold, Benedict—Lafayette's expedition against, 56; at Saratoga, 310; André and, 378; Col. Robinson's letter to, 380; not a Freemason, 578, 761; at the court of George III., *Isaac N. Arnold*, 676; the traitor, and André the sufferer, 747.
- Arnold, Isaac N.—Arnold at the court of George III., 676.
- Aroostook—lady of the, noticed, 646.
- Art Interchange—noticed, 68.
- Artist—biographies, *Allston*, noticed, 215.
- Astrolabe—discovery of Champlain's, 179, noticed, 648.
- Augusta, Ga.—Confederate monument at, oration on unveiling, noticed, 74.
- Baird, Charles W.—early American printing, 262; civil status of the Presbyterians in the province of New York, 593.
- Baird, Spencer F.—annual record of science and industry, 1878, noticed, 644.
- Balcarras, Earl of—315.
- Ballads of revolution—tory, 636.
- Bandelier, Ad. F.—tenure of lands and customs with respect to inheritance among ancient Mexicans, noticed, 588; art of war and mode of warfare of ancient Mexicans, noticed, 592.
- Bank—the first, in America, 694.
- Bannister, John—Newport, his pictures, 1769, 452.
- Barnes, A. S. & Co.—International Review, noticed, 80; popular history, noticed, 214; one term history, noticed, 382.
- Barnes, C. J.—communicates letter of Gen. Heath, 51.
- Barton, William Sumner—a sketch of Dr. Artemas Bullard, noticed, 592.
- Bastian, A.—die culturlander des alien America, noticed, 212.
- Bates, Daniel M.—life and character of Willard Hall, noticed, 326.
- Bay, W. V. N.—reminiscences of bench and bar of Missouri, noticed, 323.
- Beaumont's opinion of Silas Deane and Arthur Lee—631.
- Beauvois, E.—Premier Evêché du nouveau monde, noticed, 69.
- Bellomont, Lord—his coffin, 317.
- Berard's history of United States—noticed, 460.
- Bergen county—Hopper House, 159.
- Bergen, Tunis G.—Leffert's genealogy, noticed, 72.
- Berkey, William A.—money question, noticed, 70.
- Betts, B. R.—the Columbiad, 380.
- Bevier, R. S.—confederate Missouri brigades, noticed, 322.
- Bible—first great quarto, in America, 311, 455.
- Bigelow Brothers—publications Buffalo Historical Society, noticed, 586.
- Biographical—the Howards of Maryland, *Elizabeth Read*, 239; George Clinton, *W. L. Stone*, 239; Brigadier-General Samuel Meredith, *Wharton Dickenson*, 553.
- Birdsall House—Washington's headquarters at, 159.
- Bishop, W. H.—Detmold; a romance, noticed, 647.
- Bishoric—first in the New World, noticed, 69.
- Blackburn, J. S.—Cooper medal, 201.
- Bliss, Alexander—review of Halifax fishery question, noticed, 215.
- Bolles, Albert S.—financial administration of Robert Morris, noticed, 326.
- Bonaparte, Charles Lucian—Wilson and Bonaparte—American ornithology, noticed, 72.
- Boston—graveyards of, noticed, 79; first founding of, 261; King's handbook of, noticed, 269; ancient pasquinade, 315; game of, 581, 762.
- Brady's leap—638.
- Brandywine—Lord Percy at, 201.
- Breveort, J. Carson—Spanish-American documents printed or inedited, 175; communicates letter of Count de Vergennes to Silas Deane, 635.
- Brinckerhoff's house—Fishkill village, N. Y., 158.
- Brodhead, Col.—expedition of, 1779, 315, 454; Brodhead's expedition against the Indians of the Upper Allegheny, 1779, *Old Edson*, 649, 762; report of his expedition, from *Penn. Packet*, Oct. 19, 1779, 671.
- Brogie—Prince de, 453.
- Brown, A. C.—family record of Silas Brown, Jr., noticed, 592.
- Brown, Henry Armit—bi-centennial address on the settlement of Burlington, noticed, 66.
- Brown, Oliver—Mass. line, his epitaph, 376.
- Brown, Silas, Jr.—family record of, noticed, 592.
- Brown, William Hand—and R. M. Johnston's life of Alex. H. Stephens, noticed, 72.
- Brownell, Harriet A.—genealogy of Fields, noticed, 647.
- Brownsville, Penn.—epitaphs at, 513.
- Bruyas, Father—Jesuit missionary to Canada, 1689-90, papers of, 250.
- Bryant, William Cullen—in memorandum, noticed, 76; R. C. Waterston's tribute to, noticed, 80; life, character and history of—address before N. Y. Hist. Society, noticed, 211; among his countrymen—the poet, the patriot, the man—oration before the Goethe Club, noticed, 215; memorial meeting of Century Club, noticed, 460.

- Buffalo Historical Society—publications of, noticed, 586.
- Bull-fight—John Jay at a, 512.
- Bullard, Dr. Artemas—genealogical sketch of, noticed, 592.
- Burdge, F.—Galloway's plan, 259.
- Burgoyne campaign—unpublished journal of, 200.
- Burlington—settlement of, noticed, 66.
- Burr, Aaron—and Hamilton, 313; life of, noticed, 628.
- Burrows, Capt.—monument at Portland to, 57.
- Butler, William Allen—life and literary labors of E. A. Duyckinck, address before the N. Y. Hist. Soc. by, noticed, 268.
- Butterfield, C. W.—system of punctuation, noticed, 212.
- Buttre, J. C.—American portrait gallery, noticed, 77.
- Buena Vista—the battle of, *Ellen Hardin Watworth*, 705.
- California—libraries of, noticed, 645.
- Cambridge, Mass.—Vassal house, 157.
- Cambronymachia (Muscipula)—the mouse trap, 379, 585.
- Camels—introduction in America of, 581.
- Campbell, Douglas—historical fallacies regarding colonial New York, noticed, 324.
- Canada—cross set up at Spanish river road, 50; Father Bruyas, Jesuit missionary in, 250.
- Cannibalism in North America, 761.
- Cantoloper—452, 519.
- Cape de Verd dollars—312.
- Capers, Nahum—introduction to Whipple's free trade in money, noticed, 75.
- Carolina, North—description of Fayetteville, 1799, 48; pirates, 1750, 54.
- Cartas de Indias, noticed, 61; translations from, 193.
- Cayuga History—early chapters of, noticed, 767.
- Carneau, Mrs. William Leslie—our winter Eden, noticed, 75.
- Centenarian—2, 637.
- Century club—Bryant memorial meeting at, noticed, 450.
- Ceramic art—noticed, 68.
- Chad's Ford—Ring's house at, Washington's headquarters, 158.
- Chamber of Commerce of N. Y.—twenty-first annual report of, noticed, 587; lost charter of, 693.
- Champlain's astrolabe—discovery of an astrolabe supposed to have been lost in 1613 by Champlain, *O. H. Marshalf*, 179, noticed, 628.
- Chapman, Edward, of Ipswich, Mass.—noticed, 646.
- Chapman, Jacob—and W. B. Lapham—life Edward Chapman, of Ipswich, Mass., noticed, 646.
- Charlestown, Mass.—genealogies and estates of, noticed, 769.
- Charlton, Mass.—historical sketch of, noticed, 591.
- Charter of Chamber of Commerce—the lost, 693.
- Chever, Henry T.—memoir of Ichabod Washburne, noticed, 271.
- Cherokee—customs of, 199; chiefs in England, 313; first printing press, 313; medal—55, 518.
- Chillakothe—geographical names, 512.
- Christmas—old and new, 201.
- Cincinnati—R. I. society of, noticed, 66.
- City Island—264.
- Civilization and barbarism—*Frederick Freeman*, noticed, 324.
- Clinton, George—Wm. L. Stone's biographical sketch of, 329.
- Clymer, Meredith—449.
- Coach—the Newark, 260.
- Coddington, William—on R. I. colonial affairs, noticed, 642.
- Coffee houses—French emigrés and New York, 262.
- Coffin, Charles A.—national guardsman, noticed, 76.
- Colden—his letter-books, noticed, 642.
- Colleges—American and Am. public, noticed, 69; their students and work, noticed, 71.
- Colonial—stock, 52; days, Conn. elections in, 309.
- Colonial New York—historical fallacies regarding, *Douglas Campbell*, noticed, 324.
- Colonies—longevity in the, 694.
- Colony—constitutional development of the New York, 161.
- Columbiad—the, 55, 380.
- Columbus, Christopher—and Americus Vespucius, letters of, noticed, 558.
- Conewago Chapel, N. Y.—203, 316.
- Congress, first—declaration of rights, 50; royal portraits in first, 55, 379; Galloway's plan, 259; report of librarian of, 1878, noticed, 645; report on American archives, noticed, 645.
- Connecticut—the Shaw house, New London, 160; Tories at Litchfield, 201; David Sage, one of the first settlers of Middletown, noticed, 271; elections in the colonial days, *N. Y. Mercury*, March 22, 1767, 309; village, 516.
- Constitution—formation of the first, *New York Z. A. Stevens*, 1.
- Constitutional development of the colony of New York—*S. N. Dexter North*, 161.
- Contemporary—review, noticed, 69, 770.
- Continental Congress, 259; army, Irish element in, 760.
- Convention of Saratoga—*George W. Greene*, 231.
- Conventions—no more, 263.
- Conwell, Russell H.—history of St. John's great fire, noticed, 212.
- Cooper, Fenimore—medal to, 201.
- Cornwallia, surrender of—Trumbull picture at Washington, 448.
- Cortlandt house—see Van Cortlandt.
- Crackers—516.
- Craft, David—communicates list of journals, etc., of the western expedition, 1779, 673.
- Craig, Isaac—André remains, 319; Brodhead's expedition of 1779, 454; Simon Girty and attack on Fort Henry, 1777, 513.
- Cresson, Caleb—diary of, noticed, 267.
- Cresson, Ezra Townsend—diary of Caleb Cresson, noticed, 267.
- Croghan's journal, 1765—515.
- Cruger, John—declaration of 1765, 311.
- Cullum, Gen. George W.—campaign of the war of 1812—15, noticed, 764.
- Curtis, George William—life, character and history of William Cullen Bryant, noticed, 211.
- Cushman, Charlotte—Memoir of, noticed, 64.
- Cutter, W. R.—De la Neuville, 694.
- Darbies—American, 198.
- Dartmouth college—history of, noticed, 589.
- Day's tavern, Harlem, N. Y.—visited by Washington, 160.
- Dawes, William—his ride with Paul Revere, noticed, 267.
- Dean—forest of, 318.
- Deane, Charles—record of president and council of New Hampshire, 1679—1688, noticed, 458.
- Deane, Silas—and Arthur Lee, Beaumarchais' opinion of, 691; letter of Count de Vergennes to, 635.
- De Costa, B. F.—the globe of Vliplis, 171; Lenox globe, 559.
- De Bry's voyages, 262; 380; 454.
- De Lancey, Edward F. Jones—history of New York during the revolution, noticed, 521.
- De la Neuville, 694.
- Delaware county, Penn.—Ring's house at, 158.
- Delaware historical society—mem. address on life and character of Willard Hall, noticed, 326.
- Denison, Frederic—Westerly (Rhode Island) and its witnesses, noticed, 721; past and present Narragansett, noticed, 648.
- De Peyster, Frederic—memoir of William Henry Gust, noticed, 73.
- De Peyster, J. Watts—Inwood-on-Hudson vs. Tubbyhook, 455.
- Derry, J. T.—a guide to Georgia, noticed, 75.
- Derry, Moll—Valentine and, 514.
- Destouches—French fleet at R. I. under de Ternay and, 423, 436.
- Destruction and reconstruction, personal experiences, noticed, 522.
- Detmold—a romance, noticed, 647.
- Detroit—illustrated guide of, 77.
- Deutsche Pionier erinnerungen, noticed, 72.
- Dey House at Preakness, New Jersey—Washington's headquarters, *William Nelson*, 490.
- Dexter, George—introduction to letters of Christopher Columbus and Americus Vespucius, noticed, 558.
- Dexter, Henry M.—an old Rhode Island book, 696.
- Dickenson, John, 311.
- Dickenson, Wharton—John Cruger and the declaration of 1765, 311; biographical sketch of Brig. Gen. Samuel Meredith, 535.
- Dighton Rock inscription—opinion of, by a Danish archaeologist—Charles Rau, 236.
- Dix, Gen. John A.—obituary of, 383.
- Dobbs Ferry, N. Y.—Van Brugh Livingston house at, 160.
- Dodge, Samuel, 203.
- Dogs of Great Britain and America, noticed, 647.
- Dollars—Cape de Verde, 312.
- Donnelly, E.—curious English coin, 60.
- Douglas—history of the town of, noticed, 260.
- Drake, E. L.—annals of the army of Tennessee, noticed, 69; chronological summary of battles of western armies of confederate states, noticed, 648.
- Drake, Francis S.—history of Roxbury, Mass., noticed, 269.

- Drum—follow the, 198.
 Duel—an army, 628.
 Dufferin, Earl of—his administration of Canada, noticed, 216.
 Dun fish and cusk, 291.
 Dutch town—an old, noticed, 648.
 Dutch Reformed Protestant Church, noticed, 463.
 Duyckinck, Evert Augustus—life and literary labors of, noticed, 268; writings and influence of, 464.
 East and west—a sermon, noticed, 47.
 Edes, H. H.—Wyman's Middlesex genealogies, edited by—announced, 327; noticed, 769.
 Edson, Obed—Broadhead's expedition against the Indians of upper Allegheny, 649.
 Elizabeth town, N. J.—map of, noticed, 646.
 Elk meat, 312.
 Ellicott's Almanac, 1782, Chatham, 514.
 Elmar house—Whitemarsh, Washington headquarters at, 158.
 Ely—reunion, history of, noticed, 528.
 Emerson, William A.—history of the town of Douglas (Mass.), noticed, 269.
 Emperor of the Mississippi, 50.
 Empire state—birth of the, *J. A. Stevens*, 1, 376.
 English classics—first American editions of, 54; coin, curious, 60.
 Enroughy—see Darbies, 198.
 Erskine, Robert—579.
 Essays and reviews—Charles Hodge, noticed, 323.
 Farmer's—illustrated guide and souvenir of Detroit, noticed, 77.
 Far West, 511.
 Fayetteville—North Carolina, description of, 48.
 Fehr, Jean Rodolphe—a French emigré, 262.
 Felton, Cyrus—record of remarkable events in Marlborough and vicinity, noticed, 592.
 Fersen, Comte de—et la cour de France, noticed, 266; aid-de-camp to Rochambeau, letters to his father in Sweden, 1780-1782, 300, 369, 437.
 Fernon, Thomas S.—no dynasty in North America, noticed, 76.
 Fernow, B.—communicates papers of father Bruyas, jesuit missionary to Canada, 1689-90, 250.
 Fields of Providence, R. I.—sketch of, noticed, 647.
 Finance and taxation—Sherman's selected speeches on, noticed, 644.
 Fish, dun and cusk, 261.
 Fish story—another, 261.
 Fishkill village, N. Y.—Col. Brinckerhoff's house, Washington headquarters at, 158.
 Flipper, Henry Ossian—colored cadet at West Point, noticed, 462.
 Florida—Greek colony in, 56; 264; 520.
 Force, M. F.—early notices of Indians of Ohio, noticed, 461.
 Ford's house, Morristown, N. J.—Washington headquarters at, 158.
 Forney, John W.—Progress noticed, 266; memorial address upon Morton McMichael, noticed, 592.
 Forster, Charles J.—the white horse of Wootton, noticed, 73.
 Fort Henry—Simon Girty and attack on, 513.
 Fort Schuyler, Machin's march from, against Onondagas, 688.
 Foundling—first Boston, 261.
 Francis, Dr. Samuel W.—life and character of Rev. E. M. P. Wells, of St. Stephens, Boston, noticed, 270.
 Franklin, Benjamin—treaty of peace, 1783, 39; character of, 43; his grave, 312.
 Fraser, Gen.—his burial place, 452, 640.
 Fraunces' tavern, N. Y.—farewell of Washington at, 150; visited by Washington, 160.
 Freeman, Frederick—civilization and barbarism, noticed, 324.
 Freemasons—the French, 448.
 Free trade in money the great cause of fraud, noticed, 75.
 French geographical society, Gravier's address at meeting of, noticed, 70; New York coffee houses and Emigres, 252; history of the American revolution, 263; discoveries and settlements in the west and south of North America, by Pierre Margry, noticed, 320; officers who served in the American armies prior to treaties made between France and United States, 364; in Rhode Island, by *John A. Stevens*, 385; army in America, uniforms, 410; fleet at R. I. under de Ternay and Destouches, 423; officers in America under Count de Rochambeau, 423; in Newport, 1780-1781, 425; regiments in Newport, 428; navy, 420; in Providence, 1782, 430; portraits of, 448; freemasons, 448; adventurers in 1776, first, 515; revolutionary epoch, noticed, 768.
 Fulton, Robert—ancestors of, 56.
 Gaines' Universal Register—extract, 1780, 750.
 Gallatin, Albert—writings and life of, noticed, 697.
 Galloway's plan, 259.
 Galvez, Don, 203.
 Gates' burial place, 204; 316.
 Gassaway, Wm. Pitt, 638.
 Genealogical notes, Thomas'—part II, noticed, 72.
 Generation—first Boston, 264.
 Genet, George C.—communicates Beaumarchais opinion of Silas Deane and Arthur Lee, 631.
 George III.—Arnold at the court of, 676.
 Georgia—objects from Indian tumuli, 47, 266; guide to cities, noticed, 75.
 Gerhardt—French plenipotentiary, 760.
 Gettysburg—right flank at, noticed, 213; bride of, noticed, 326.
 Girty, Simon—attack on Fort Henry, 1777, 513.
 Gladstone—on American ox tails, 53.
 Glenachie, Lady—garters, a toast, 53.
 Goddard, Archibald & Co.—reminiscence, of the firm of, 689; mansion, N. Y., description of, 690.
 Graveyard inscriptions in Alleghany Co., Pa., 449.
 Gravier, Gabriel—Recherches sur les navigations Europeennes faites au Moven age, noticed, 63; allocution faite a la societe de geographie, séance du 21 Novembre, noticed, 70.
 Greek colony in Florida, 56; 264; 520.
 Greene, George W.—convention of Saratoga, 221.
 Green, Samuel A.—the game of Boston, 281, 762.
 Groaning beer, 694.
 Guest, George—inventor of Cherokee alphabet, 55, 519.
 Guest, William Henry—memoir of, noticed, 73.
 Haak, Hartlib—correspondence of, noticed, 74.
 Hadden, Lieut.—journal of Burgoyne campaign, 200.
 Hale, Nathan—where hanged? 203.
 Halifax fishery question—noticed, 215.
 Hall, Willard—life and character of, noticed, 326.
 Hamilton, Alexander—life and epoch of, noticed, 763.
 Hamilton and Burr, 373.
 Hampton, N. H.—fish at, 261.
 Harden, William—curious English coin, 60.
 Harney, Gen. William Selby—life and military services of, noticed, 78.
 Hart, Charles Henry—prince of Broglie, 453.
 Hart, Isaac—pictures at Newport, 452.
 Hart, Lt. Fred—pottery among savage races, noticed, 648.
 Hasbrouck house, Newburg, N. Y.—Washington headquarters, 160.
 Hassard, John R. G.—history of United States of America, noticed, 74.
 Haverstraw, N. Y.—Joshua Hett Smith house at, Washington headquarters, 159.
 Havre de Grace, 581.
 Hawley, Charles—early chapters of Cayuga history, noticed, 767.
 Hayden, Horace Edwin—lord Percy at Brandywine, 201; Don Galvez, 206; metal objects from Indian tumuli, 206; a cantsloper, 519.
 Hayward, Almira L.—poem on Hayward gathering, noticed, 647.
 Hayward, George W.—Hayward family gathering, noticed, 647.
 Headquarters—of Washington, during the revolution, 157.
 Heath, major general—letter of, 51.
 Henry, Fort—attack on, 513.
 Henry, Patrick—his speech, 316.
 Herkimer, Nicholas, 580.
 Hessians—the old, 49.
 Highland, Ohio—his'ory of county of, noticed, 271.
 Highlands, N. Y.—Beverly Robinson house, Washington's headquarters at, 159.
 Hill, Charles D.—our merchant marine, noticed, 77.
 Hill, David J.—American authors—Washington Irving, noticed, 524.
 Historical—Birth of the empire state, formation of the first constitution of New York, 1777, *J. A. Stevens*, 1; the globe of Vipius, *B. F. de Cusa*, 17; Oregon—the origin and meaning of the name, *J. H. Trumbull*, 36; Washington's opinion of his General Officers, 81; Washington's Headquarters at Pompton, *J. A. Stevens*, 89; The Constitutional Development of the Colony of New York, *S. N. D. North*, 161; Spanish American Documents Printed or Inedited, *J. C. Brevoort*, 175; Champlain's Astrolabe—Discovery

- of an Astrolabe supposed to have been lost by Champlain in 1613, *O. H. Marshall*, 179; The Influence of New York on American Jurisprudence, *Horatio Seymour*, 217; The Convention of Saratoga, *G. W. Greene*, 231; The Dighton Rock Inscription—an Opinion of a Danish Archaeologist, *C. Raw*, 236; The Prisoners of Matamoros—a Reminiscence of the Revolution of Texas, *R. M. Potter*, 273; A New and Ancient Map of Yucatan, *Ph. Valentini*, 295; The Battle of Monmouth, as described by Dr. James Mc Henry, secretary to General Washington, *T. H. Montgomery*, 355; The French in Rhode Island, *J. A. Stevens*, 385; The Traditional and the Real Washington, *James Parson*, 453; The Dey House, Washington's Headquarters at Frenkeness, *N. J. William Nelson*, 490; The Lenox Globe, *B. F. de Costa*, 529; The Old Stone Mill at Newport, *George C. Mason*, 72, 521; A Justification of General Sullivan, *Thomas C. Amory*, 550; Civil Status of the Presbyterians in the Province of New York, *Charles W. Baird*, 593; Old Fort Van Rensselaer, *F. H. Roof*, 620; Brodhead's Expedition against the Indians of the Upper Allegheny, 1779; *Obed Edson*, 649; Col. Brodhead's Report of his Expedition from the Penn Packet [1779], 671; List of Journals, Narratives, etc., of the Western Expedition, *David Craft*, 673; Arnold at the Court of George III, *Isaac N. Arnold*, 676; The Skirmish at Poundridge, Westchester, 1779, *James B. Lockwood*, 685; the battle of Buena Vista, *Ellen H. Watworth*, 705; the case of Major Andre, *J. C. Stockbridge*, 729; the Seventy-six Stone house, Tappan, *J. A. Stevens*, 743.
- Historical medal, 313.
- Hittell, John S.—history of San Francisco, noticed, 328.
- Hodge, Charles—essays and reviews, noticed, 323.
- Holland, Henry W.—William Dawes and his ride with Paul Revere, noticed, 267.
- Holloway's portrait of Washington, engraved, 583.
- Homes, Henry A.—Washington's opinion of his officers, 81.
- Holmes Oliver Wendell—memoir of Motley, noticed 272.
- Hopper house, Bergen county, N. J., Washington's headquarters at, 159.
- Horsmanden, Mrs., 454.
- Horton, S. Dana—the monetary situation, address at Cincinnati, 67.
- Howard, John Eager—a second medal, 377.
- Howards of Maryland—*Elizabeth Read*, 239; 640.
- Howe, Bezaleel, Major, 313.
- Howe, J. B.—monetary and industrial fallacies, noticed, 66.
- Howe, J. M.—Hamilton and Burr, 313.
- Howells, W. D.—the lady of the Aroostook, noticed, 646.
- Howgate, Henry W.—polar colonization, memorial, noticed, 524.
- Hudson—inwood on, viz., Tubby Hook, 261, 455.
- Humble pie, 201.
- Hurlburt, Henry H.—father Marquette at Mackinaw and Chicago, paper read before Chicago historical society, noticed, 325.
- Hutchins' Almanac, 1784, New York, 514.
- Hylton, J. D.—bride of Gettysburg, noticed, 326.
- Independence—bell of, 203.
- Indian—metal objects from Georgia tumuli, 47, 205; emperor of the Mississippi, 50; Cherokee alphabet, 55, 514; Iowa and Sac mission press, 55, 208; dignity of chiefs, 197; Cherokee customs, 199; green corn dance, 199; stinking-lingo tribe of, 208; Cherokee chiefs in England, 313; first Cherokee printing press, 313; Brodhead's expedition against the Onondagas, 315, 454; of Ohio, early notices of, noticed, 461; geographical names—Chillakothé, 512; Brodhead's expedition against the, of the Upper Allegheny, 649.
- Indians—Cartas de, noticed, 61; translations from, 193.
- Inwood-on-Hudson vs. Tubby Hook, 261; 455.
- International congress of Americanists, noticed, 65; notice of, 520, 772; International Review, noticed, 79.
- Iowa and Sac mission press, 55; 208.
- Ireland, I. N.—the slot, 318.
- Irish element in continental army, 760.
- Irving, Washington—American authors series, noticed, 524.
- Island—City, 264.
- Itinerary of General Washington, 152.
- Jacksonian toast—200.
- Jay, John, John Adams and—treaty of 1783, 39; at a bull-fight, 512.
- Jay, William—correspondence with John Quincy Adams on treaty of 1783, 39.
- Jefferson's summary view, 200.
- Jennifer, Daniel—638.
- Jillson, Clark—first great quarto-bible in America, 455.
- Johnny cake, 451, 583, 762.
- Johnson manor, noticed, 78.
- Johnston, Henry P.—campaign of, 1776 around N. Y. and Brooklyn—battle of Long Island, noticed, 61.
- Johnston, Richard Malcolm, and William Hand Browne—life of Alex. H. Stephens, noticed, 72.
- Jones, Charles C.—life and services of Com. Tattall, noticed, 77.
- Jones, Charles C., Jr.—metal objects from Indian tumuli in Georgia, 47; oration on unveiling the confederate monument at Augusta, Ga., noticed, 74.
- Jones, J. William—southern historical society papers, noticed, 60; 642.
- Jones, Judge—and Col. Meigs, 637.
- Jones, M. M.—Holloway's portrait of Washington, engraved, 583.
- Jones, R. W.—money's power, noticed, 70.
- Jones, Thomas—history of New York during the revolution, noticed, 521.
- Judson, R. W.—Robert R. Livingston, 694.
- Jurisprudence, American—influence of New York on, *Horatio Seymour*, 217.
- Kansas City historical society, noticed, 460.
- Kapp, Hon. Frederick—Washington family of Holland and Germany, 96.
- Kent, James—Johnson manor, a novel, noticed, 72.
- King, Charles—New York in 1809, reminiscence of the firm of Archibald Gracie & Co., 689.
- King, Moses—(King's) handbook of Boston, noticed, 269.
- Klinkowstrom, Baron—Comte de Fersen et la cour de France, noticed, 266.
- Kneller, Sir Godfrey—portraits at Newport, 452.
- Kreutzer, Col. William—ninety-eighth N. Y. vol, noticed, 462.
- Lafayette—expedition against Arnold, 56; Voltaire and, 60; lost mass, 196; and father Mathew, 202; an American citizen, 455.
- Laurun, Duc de—de Fersen's opinion of, 308.
- Lee, Arthur—Beaumarchais' opinion of Silas Deane and, 631.
- Lee, Charles—his plan, 450.
- Lefteris—genealogy, noticed, 72.
- Leggo, William—history of lord Dufferin's administration, noticed, 216.
- Leisler, Jacob—parentage of, 57; 456.
- Lenox Globe—B. F. De Costa, 529.
- Lester, C. Edwards—Mexican republic, noticed, 79.
- Letters—William Jay to John Quincy Adams, 39, 42, 44; John Quincy Adams to William Jay, 40, 42; Maj. Gen. Heath to Col. Seely, 57; Rochambeau to citizens of Newport, 433; general assembly of R. I., 433; de Ternay to general assembly of R. I., 435; Rochambeau to Governor, etc., of R. I., 435; count de Vergennes to Silas Deane, 635; Josiah Quincy to Benj. Tallmadge, 747; Jared Sparks to Benj. Tallmadge, 747, 751; Benj. Tallmadge to Jared Sparks, 748, 752; Benj. Tallmadge to Josiah Quincy, 750.
- Letters of Washington (seventy) for the first time published, 1754-1781.—I. 1754, March 22, Alexandria, to Wm. Fairfax, 104; II. 1756, Mt. Vernon, to Madam —, 104; III. 1757, July 12, Fort Loudon, to unknown, 104; IV. 1757, Nov. 13, Alexandria, to Rev. Charles Green, 105; V. 1761, July 14, Mt. Vernon, to unknown, 105; VI. 1761, Aug. 26, Warm Springs, to Rev. Chas. Green, 105; VII. 1763, to Geo. W. Fairfax, 107; VIII. 1763, July 17, Mt. Vernon, to Geo. W. Fairfax, 108; IX. 1760, Aug. 18, Warm Springs, to Col. Jno. Armstrong, 108; X. 1770, May 13, Mt. Vernon, to Rev. Boncher, 109; XI. 1772, Dec. 3, Mt. Vernon, to Col. Sam. Washington, 111; XII. 1773, April 20, Mt. Vernon, to Col. Fielding Lewis, 111; XIII. 1775, Oct. 30, Cambridge, to Joseph Reed, 113; XIV. 1775, November 15, Cambridge, to Gov. Cooke, 113; XV. 1775, Nov. 27, Cambridge, to Joseph Reed, 114; XVI. 1775, Dec.

14, Cambridge, to Gov. Cooke, 114; XVII. 1776, March 25, Cambridge, to Doc. Morgan, 115; XVIII. 1776, March 28, Cambridge, to Joseph Reed, 115; XIX. 1776, April 23, New York, to Joseph Reed, 116; XX. 1776, June 14, hd. qrs. to Col. Clinton, 116; XXI. 1776, July 15, New York, to Nicholas Cooke, 117; XXII. 1777, Jan. 11, Morristown, to Henry Sherburne, 118; XXIII. 1777, Jan. 12, Morristown, to Col. Reed, 118; XXIV. 1777, Jan. 12, Morristown, to Henry Sherburne, 119; XXV. 1777, Jan. 14, Morristown, to Col. Joseph Reed, 119; XXVI. 1777, Jan. 15, Morristown, to Col. Joseph Reed, 120; XXVII. 1777, Feb. 10, Morristown, to Col. Henry Sherburne, 121; XXVIII. 1777, Feb. 14, Morristown, to committee of congress, 121; XXIX. 1777, Feb. 23, Morristown, to Col. Joseph Reed, 122; XXX. 1777, July 24, camp near Clove, to Maj. Gen. Lord Stirling, 123; XXXI. 1777, Sept. 24, near Pottsgrove, to Maj. Gen. Lord Stirling, 124; XXXII. 1777, Sept. 25, head quarters, to Maj. Gen. Lord Stirling, 124; XXXIII. 1777, Oct. 15, hd. qrs., Philad. county, 125; XXXIV. 1777, Dec. 2, White Marsh, to Col. Joseph Reed, 126; XXXV. 1777, Dec. 2, to officers and soldiers of militia, 126; XXXVI. 1777, Dec. 30, Valley Forge, to Maj. Gen. Lord Stirling, 127; XXXVII. 1778, Jan. 7, Valley Forge, to Brig. Gen. Smallwood, 127; XXXVIII. 1778, April 14, Valley Forge, to Col. Israel Shreve, 127; XXXIX. 1778, July 14, memorandum, 128; XL. 1778, July 22, White Plains, to Col. Henry Jackson, 129; XLI. 1778, Aug. 12, White Plains, to Count D'Estain, 129; XLII. 1778, Oct. 4, to Maj. Gen. Lord Stirling, 129; XLIII. 1778, Oct. 25, Frederickbg., to Maj. Gen. Lord Stirling, 129; XLIV. 1778, Dec. 17, hd. qrs., to Lt. Col. Ebenezer Stevens, 130; XLV. 1778, Dec. 21, hd. quarters, to Maj. Gen. Lord Stirling, 130; XLVI. 1779, March 3, —, to Prest Reed, 130; XLVII. 1779, March 30, Middlebrook, to unknown, 131; XLVIII. 1779, March 33, head qrs. to Brig. Gen. Knox, 131; XLIX. 1779, March 29, Middlebrook, to Prest. Jos. Reed, 133; L. 1779, April 8, Middlebrook, to Prest. Jos. Reed, 133; LI. 1779, April 12, hd. qrs., to Brig. Gen. Knox, 134; LII. 1779, April 19, Middlebrook, to Gov. Reed, 135; LIII. 1779, May 14, Middlebrook, to Brig. Gen. Knox, 136; LIV. 1779, May 12, Middlebrook, to Gen'l Knox, 136; LV. 1779, May 30, Middle Brook, to Council, State of Penn., 137; LVI. 1779, May 27, Middlebrook, to Gen. Knox, 138; LVII. 1779, May 28, Middlebrook, to Gen. Knox, 138; LVIII. 1779, May 30, to Gen. Knox, 139; LIX. 1779, June 4, Morris Town, to Gen. Knox, 139; LX. 1779, June 4, Morris Town, to Gen. Knox, 140; LXI. 1779, June, Smith's Clove, to Gen. Knox, 140; LXII. 1779, June 13, Smith's Clove, to Col. Neilson, 141; LXIII.

1779, July 12, New Windsor, to Brig. Gen. Knox, 141; LXIV. 1779, Aug. 15, West Point, to John Jay, 142; LXV. 1779, Aug. 20, West Point, to Gen. Knox, 147; LXVI. 1779, Aug. 31, West Point, to Col. Bland, 147; LXVII. 1779, Nov. 12, West Point, to Gen. Knox, 147; LXVIII. 1779, Nov. 18, hd. qrs., to Gen. Knox, 148; LXIX. 1779, Nov. 23, West Point, to Gen. Knox, 148; LXX. 1779, Dec. 8, Morristown, to Gen. Knox, 149; (nineteen)—LXXI. 1780, Feb. 14, headquarters; Morristown, to Col. Jackson, 496; LXXII. 1780, May 5, Morristown, to Fielding Lewis, 499; LXXIII. 1780, June 3, head qrs., Morristown, to Maj. Gen. Greene, 499; LXXIV. 1780, June 7, to Maj. Gen. Lord Stirling, 499; LXXV. 1780, July 20, hd. qrs., to Mrs. Presdt Reed, 500; LXXVI. 1780, Aug. 1, Peeks Kill, to Gov. Reed, 500; LXXVII. 1780, July 22, hd. qrs., Bergen Co., to Joseph Jones, 500; LXXVIII. 1780, Oct. 22, hd. qrs., Orange Town, to Mrs. Presdt. Reed, 505; LXXIX. 1780, Aug. 20, hd. qrs., Orange Town, to Gov. Reed, 504; LXXX. 1780, Sept. 9, hd. qrs., to Hon. Joseph Jones of Congress, 506; LXXXI. 1780, Oct. 4, hd. qrs., to William Bingham, 506; LXXXII. 1780, Oct. 22, hd. qrs., Passaic Falls, to Hon. Wm. Fitzhugh, 507; LXXXIII. 1780, Nov. 8, Preckiness, to Abraham Skinner, 507; LXXXIV. 1780, Nov. 8, hd. qrs., Passaic Falls, to Hon. Wm. Fitzhugh, 508; LXXXV. 1780, Nov. 10, hd. qrs., Passaic Falls, to Gov. Livingston, 509; LXXXVI. Nov. 28, Morristown, to Col. Tallmadge, 510; LXXXVII. 1780, Dec. 10, hd. qrs., New Windsor, to Gov. Livingston, 510; LXXXVIII. 1780, Dec. 12, New Windsor, to C. W. Peale, 511; LXXXIX. 1780, Dec. 21, New Windsor, to Brig. Gen. Clinton, 511. Life and its record in this generation, noticed, 67. Litchfield—Conn., tories at, 200. Literary Notices of historical publications—61, 209, 266, 320, 321, 458, 521, 586, 641, 697, 763. Literary Notices — January, memoirs L. I. Historical Society, vol. iii., H. P. Johnston's battle of L. I., 61; Cartas de Indias, 61; Prime's pottery and porcelain, 62; proceedings of American Association for advancement of Science, 1877, 63; Gravier's Recherches sur les navigation Européens au moyen age, 63; Stebbins' Charlotte Cushman, 64; Eleventh annual report of Peabody Museum, 64; New York genealogical and biographical record, Oct., 64; Drake's annals of army of Tennessee, vol. I., Nov., 65; Congrès International des Américanistes, 1ere session, 65; J. B. Howe's monetary and industrial fallacies, 66; Brown's centennial of Burlington, 66; Rhode Island society of Cincinnati, July 1878, 66; Horton's monetary situation, 67; Stone's topical course of study for common schools of U. S., 67; Pennypacker reunion, 67; Osgood's, life

and its record in this generation, 67; Young's ceramic art, 68; Art interchange, 68; Peet's American antiquarian, vol. I., no. 4, 68; American journal of numismatics, Oct., vol. xiii, no. 2, 68; Masonic monthly, vol. I., no. 6, 68; Contemporary review, Oct., 1878, 69; Porter's American colleges and public, 69; Beauvois' origines et fondations du plus ancien évêché du Nouveau-Monde, 69; Jones' Southern Hist. Soc. papers, vol. vi., no. 5, 69; Berkey's money question, 70; Jones' money is power, 70; Gravier's Allocution Faite a la Société de Géographie, 70; Rice's North American Review, Nov.-Dec., 71; Thwing's American colleges, 71; Adam Smith's wealth of nations, 71; Denison's westerly Rhode Island, 72; Bergen's genealogy of Lefferts, 72; Thomas' genealogical notes, part second, 72; Wilson and Bonaparte's American ornithology, 72; Deutsche pioneer Erinnerungen, Band 20, Heft. 7, 72; Johnston and Browne's life of Alexander H. Stephens, 72; DePeyster's memoir of William Henry Guest, 73; Whitcomb's topical historical chart, 73; Foster's white horse of Wootton, 73; Jones' oration on erection of Confederate monument at Augusta, Ga., 74; Dean Stanley's east and west, 74; New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Oct., 1878, 74; Hartlib, Haak, Oldenburg and other founders of the Royal Society; correspondence with Gov. Winthrop, 1661-1679, 74; Hassard's history of the United States, 74; Casneau's Winter Eden, 75; Whipple's free trade in money, 75; Derry's Georgia, 75; Keen and Jackson's catalogue of chess collection of late George Allen, 75; Rau's Smithsonian archeological collection of United States national museum, 75; Fernon's no dynasty in North America, 76; Townsend's caisses d'Epargnes aux Etats Unis, 76; Epitome of Literature, 76; in memory of William Cullen Bryant, 76; National Guardsman, 76; Massachusetts Hist. Soc. coll., vol. I., 76; Hill's merchant marine, 77; Jones' life and services of Com. Josiah Tattnall, 77; Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, no. 3, vol. II., 77; Wildes' oration on settlement of Newburg (Mass.), 77; guide and souvenir of Detroit, 77; Buttre's American portrait gallery, 77; Starbuck's history of American wharf fishery, 78; Rawlin's life and military services of Gen. Harney, 78; Kent's Johnson manor, 78; Lester's Mexican Republic, 79; Woodward's wampum, 79; Whitmore's graveyards of Boston, vol. I., 79; MacKellar's American printer, 79; Tuttle's ethics of spiritualism, 79; Barnes' International Review, Nov.-Dec., 80; Waterston's tribute to William Cullen Bryant, 80; Vermont Hist. Soc. proceedings, Oct., 1878, 80.

February (no notices).

March, Tyler's history of American literature, 209; Winthrop's ad-

drasses and speeches, 210; Mathew's oratory and orators, 210; records of governor and council of Vermont, 211; Curtis' life, character and history of William Cullen Bryant, 211; Maryland documents, 1809-1800, 211; Bastian's culturlander des Alten America, 212; Cornwell's history of St. John's great fire, 212; Woodruff's scientific expedition, 212; Butterfield's system of punctuation, 212; third book of records of Southampton, L. I., 213; Rawle's right flank at Gettysburg, 213; memoranda of descendants of Amos Morris of Conn., 213; Swinton's condensed United States history, 213; Barnes' popular history, 214; Smithsonian Institution annual report, 1877, 214; Richardson's history of our country, 214; Bliss' review of Halifax fishery award, 215; Osgood's Bryant among his countrymen, 215; artist-biographies—Allston, 215; Leggo's administration of Earl of Dufferin, 216; John W. Forney's progress, 216; Saturday Magazine, 216.

April, Klinkowström's Comte de Fersen et la Cour de France, 266; Holland's William Dawes and his ride with Paul Revere, 267; Cresson's diary of Caleb Cresson, 267; Stone's history of Saratoga monument, 268; Butler's memorial sketch of Evert A. Duyckinck, 68; Drake's town of Roxbury (Mass.), 269; King's handbook of Boston, 269; Emerson's history of town of Douglas (Mass.), 269; Sharpe's Seymour and vicinity, 270; Lodge's memoir of Caleb Strong, 270; Francis' memoir of life of Rev. E. M. P. Wells, 270; Sharpe's record of the Sharpe family, 271; genealogical record of descendants of David Sage, 271; Thompson's history of Highland county (Ohio), 271; Cheever's autobiography and memorial of Ichabod Washburn, 271; Mowry's descendants of Nathaniel Mowry of R. I., 272; Mowry's Richard Mowry of Uxbridge, Mass., 272; Holmes' John Lotthrop Motley, 272.

May, Margry's découvertes et établissements des Français dans l'Ouest, etc., 320; Reid's telegraph in America, 321; Hittell's history of San Francisco, 322; Bevier's Confederate First and Second Missouri Brigades, 322; Putnam's sermons preached in the church of first religious society in Roxbury, 323; Bay's reminiscences of the bench and bar of Missouri, 323; Hodge's essays and reviews, 323; Freeman's civilization and barbarism, 324; Campbell's historical fallacies regarding colonial New York, 324; Wager address before Oneida Hist. Soc., 324; Hurlburt's Father Marquette at Mackinaw, 325; Pinkney's Webster and Pinkney, 325; Bates' life and character of Willard Hall, 326; Hytton's bride of Gettysburg, 326; Trebor's as it may happen, 326; Longfellow's poems of places—New England—Middle States, 327. *June*, Woolsey's introduction to study of international law, 381; Reed's sketch of Hon. John Read,

381; handbook of Mount Desert, (B. F. de Costa) 381; Barnes' term history, 382; Pike's new Puritan, 382.

July, transactions of Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, 458; Deane's records of the president and council of New Hampshire, 1679-1688, 458; Longfellow's poems of places—Southern States, 459; Weston's silver question, 459; Murray's Father Tom and the Pope, 459; incorporation, constitution, by-laws, officers and members of Oneida Hist. Soc., 460; Century Club Bryant memorial meeting, 460; Kansas City Hist. Soc., 460; Berard's history of United States, 460; Force's early notice of Indians of Ohio, 461; Flipper's colored cadet at West Point, 462; four years with the Ninety-eighth N. Y. Volunteers, 462; Slafter's pre-historic copper implements, 463; celebration of quarter-millennial anniversary of Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of N. Y. City, 1623-1878, 463; Osgood's Evert Augustus Duyckinck, 464; Purdy's minutes of Medical Society of N. Y., 1806-1878, 464; tribute to olden time, 464; Longfellow's poems of places—Western States, 464.

August, Jones' history of New York during the revolution, 521; Taylor's destruction and reconstruction, 522; Hill's Washington Irving, 524; Howgate's polar colonization, 524; Randolph's money and currency, 525; Welles' introduction to history of Washington family, 526; Bolles' financial administration of Robert Morris, 526; Peet's American Antiquarian, vol. I, no. 3, 527; Dexter's introduction to letters of Christopher Columbus and Americus Vesputius, 528; history of Ely reunion held at Lynne, Conn., 528; Peet's American Antiquarian, 528.

September, Stone's report of northern department of Rhode Island Hist. Soc., 586; proceedings Massachusetts Hist. Soc., 586; publications of Buffalo Hist. Soc., 586; transactions of department of American history of Minnesota Hist. Soc., 587; twenty-seventh annual report of Chamber of Commerce of N. Y., 587; proceedings of Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, 588; Bandler's distribution and tenure of land among the ancient Mexicans, 588; Reigart's history of first United States flag and patriotism of Betsy Ross, 589; Smith's history of Dartmouth College, 589; Welles' pedigree and history of Washington family, 591; Tilley's genealogy of Tilley family, 591; Titus' Charlton historical sketches, 591; Bandler's art and mode of warfare of ancient Mexicans, 592; Barton's Genealogical sketch of Dr. Artemas Bullard, 592; Forney's memorial address, on Morton Michael, 592; Brown's family record of Elias Brown, 592; Felton's record of remarkable events in Marlborough and vicinity, 592.

October, collections of New York Historical Society, 1875, 641; collections of New York Historical So-

cety, 1876, 642; Jones' Southern Historical Society paper, vol. VII, no. 8, 642; Rhode Island Historical tracts, no. 4—William Coddington in R. I. colonial affairs, 642; proceedings of American Antiquarian Society, 643; Rhode Island Historical tracts—French settlement in K. I., 643; proceedings of American Antiquarian Society, 643; Sherman's selected speeches and reports of finance and taxation, 644; Baird's annual record of science, 1878, 644; Steiger's educational directory, 645; report of Librarian of Congress for 1878, 645; report of Librarian of Congress on American archives, 645; Apponyl's libraries of California, 645; Chapman and Lapham's Edward Chapman, 646; Meyer's map of Elizabethtown, N. J., 646; Paine's family records, 646; Howell's lady of the Aroostook, 646; Hayward's centennial gathering of Hayward family, 647; Brownell's genealogy of the Fields of Providence, R. I., 647; Walsh's dogs of Great Britain, America, etc., 647; Bishop's Detmold, 647; Todd's life of Colonel Aaron Burr, 648; Hartt's notes on manufacture of pottery among savage races, 648; Drake's chronological summary of battles of the western armies of Confederate States, 648; Lowell's story or two from an old Dutch town, 648; Denison's past and present Narragansett, sea and shore, 648; Russell's lost Champlain's astrolabe, 648.

November, Adams Life of Albert Gallatin, 697; Writings of Albert Gallatin, 697; Seeley's Life and Times of Stein, 703.

December, Shea's life and epoch of Hamilton, 763; Cullum's campaign of the war of 1812-15, 764; life and letters of George Ticknor, 765; Hawley's early chapters of Cayuga history, 767; Van Laun's French revolutionary epoch, 768; Pringle Smith's address before South Carolina Hist. Soc., 769; Wyman's genealogies and estates of Charles-town (Mass.), 769; Osgood's guide books, 770; Contemporary Review, July, 1879, 770; Revue des Deux Mondes, 15 February, 1879, 771.

Little's coffee house, N. Y., 262. Livingston, Robert R.—why did he not sign the declaration? 764.

Livingston, William—parentage, 118. Livingston house, Dobbs Ferry, N.Y., visited by Washington, 160.

Localities, the lost, 203; Conewago chapel, N. Y., 310; forest of Dean, 318, 455; Manor of maske, 328; Slote, 318.

Lockwood, James B.—skirmish at Poundridge, Westchester, 1779, 685. Lodge, Henry Cabot—memoir of Caleb Strong, Mass., noticed, 270.

Long Island historical society—memoirs of, noticed, 61.

Longevity in the colonies, 691.

Longfellow, Henry W.—poems of places, noticed, 27, 459, 474.

Lossing, Benson J.—cyclopaedia of American history, announced, 327.

Charles Lee's plan, 450. Lowell, Robert—story or two from an old Dutch town, noticed, 648.

- Machin, Thomas, Captain in Col. Lamb's 2d regiment, N. Y. artillery—journal of a march from Fort Schuyler, expedition against the Onondagas, 1779, 688.
- Mackellar, Thomas—American printer, noticed, 79.
- Macomb's dam, 449.
- Madeira—red, 264.
- Madison's night cap, 50.
- Malone—Mellon and, 452.
- Margry, Pierre—découvertes et établissements des Français dans l'ouest et le sud de l'Amerique Septentrionale, noticed, 320; an historical medal 639.
- Maritime Provinces—Osgood's guide to, noticed, 770.
- Marine—our merchant, noticed, 77.
- Market—Philadelphia fresh fish, 312.
- Marlborough and vicinity—remarkable events in, noticed, 522.
- Marquette at Mackinaw and Chicago, noticed, 325.
- Marshall, O. H.—discovery of an astrolabe, 179.
- Maryland documents, 1692-1800, noticed, 211; the Howards of, *Elizabeth A. Read*, 239, 640.
- Ma-ke—manor of, 118.
- Mason, George C., Jr.—old stone mill at Newport, 541.
- Masonic monthly, noticed, 68.
- Massachusetts historical society—collections of, noticed, 76; proceedings of, noticed, 586; Vassal house, Cambridge, 157; Charlton hist. sketch, noticed, 591.
- Massue, Vicomte de—French emigré in N. Y., 262.
- Matamoros—the prisoners of, a reminiscence of the Texas revolution, by R. M. Potter, 273.
- Mathew, Father—Lafayette and, 202.
- Mathews, William—oratory and orators, 210.
- Mayflower—the, 523.
- McClellan, G. B.—ancestors of, 316.
- McHenry, Dr. James—the battle of Monmouth as described by 355, 696.
- McHenry, J. Howard—a second Howard medal, 377.
- McMichael, Morton—memorial address on, noticed, 522.
- McPheadres, 379.
- Medal—Cherokee, 55, 518; De Nesmond, 313, 639; second Howard, 377.
- Medical—curiosity, 52; society, minutes of, noticed, 404.
- Meigs, Col.—Judge Jones and, 637.
- Mellon, Geo. Mellons, 452, 516.
- Meredit, Samuel—sketch of, by Wharton Dickinson, 535.
- Mexican republic—noticed, 79.
- Mexicans—tenure of lands and customs with respect to inheritance among the ancient, noticed, 588; art of war of ancient, noticed, 592.
- Meyer, Ernest L.—map of Elizabethtown, N. J., noticed, 646.
- Middlesex genealogies—by T. B. Wyman, edited by H. H. Edes, announced, 327 noticed, 769.
- Middle States—Osgood's guide to, noticed, 770.
- Militia—old time confidence in, 54.
- Mill—old stone, at Newport, 541.
- Miller house, at White Plains, N. Y.—Washington's headquarters, 158.
- Minnesota Historical Society—transactions of department of American history, noticed, 587.
- Minot, 2-378, 584.
- Mississippi—proposal to annex Valley of, 45; emperor of the, 50.
- Missouri—confederate brigade, noticed, 322; reminiscences of bench and bar, noticed, 323.
- Modest proof—R. I. book, 517.
- Monetary and industrial fallacies—noticed, 66; situation noticed, 67; question noticed, 70.
- Money is power—noticed, 70; and currency, 525.
- Monmouth—battle of, 58, 204, 318; Lee a traitor at, 265; described by Dr. J. McHenry, by T. H. Montgomery, 355.
- Monongahela—516, 640.
- Montgomery, Thomas H.—battle of Monmouth, described by Dr. J. McHenry, Sec. to Washington, 355.
- Morehouse, Col.—tavern of, 160.
- Morris, Amos—descendants of, noticed, 213.
- Morris, Gen. Lewis—letters to, noticed, 641.
- Morris, Robert—financial administration of, noticed, 526.
- Morris, Roger—house, Harlem, N. Y., Washington headquarters at, 157.
- Motley, John Lothrop—memoir of, noticed, 272.
- Mount Desert, Maine—handbook of, noticed, 381.
- Mourning women—451, 696.
- Mowry, Nathaniel—descendants of, noticed, 272.
- Mowry, William A.—descendants of Nathaniel Mowry, of R. I., noticed, 272; ancestors and descendants of Richard Mowry, of Uxbridge, Mass., noticed, 372.
- Mowry, Richard—ancestors and descendants of, noticed, 272.
- Murray, John Fisher—Father Tom and the pope, noticed, 459.
- Muscipula—379, 585.
- Narragansett—past and present, noticed, 643.
- National guardsman—noticed, 76.
- National law—introduction to study of, Theodore D. Woolsey, noticed, 381.
- National salute—first, to flag of U. S. after dec. of independence, 579.
- Navigation—recherches sur les navigations au moyen age, noticed, 63.
- Nelson, William—the Dey house, N. J., Washington's headquarters at Preakness, 490; Erskine, 579.
- Nesmond, de—medal, 313, 639.
- Neuville, De la—316, 456, 694.
- Newark coach—260.
- Newburg—oration before Antiquarian and Historical Society of, noticed, 77; Haskbrouck house, 160.
- New England historical and genealogical register, October—noticed, 74.
- New England—hard money for, 50; first generation of, 264; Osgood's guide to, noticed, 770.
- New Hampshire—record of president and council of, noticed, 458; fish at Hampton, 261.
- New Jersey—Pompton headquarters, Pompton, 89, 158; Elmar house, Whitmarsh, 158; Ford house, Morristown, 158; Hopper house, Bergen Co., 159; Rocky Hill, Somerset Co., 160; Dey house, Preakness, 490; Schuyler's of, 514.
- New London—Shaw house, 160.
- Newport, R. I.—quarters occupied by army under de Rochambeau, 1780-1781, in, 425; French regiments quartered in, 428; resolution of the inhabitants of, 433; inscription over monument to de Ternay in Trinity Church yard, 436; fine arts in, 452; Bannister's pictures at, 452; old stone mill at, George C. Mason, Jr., 541; the theatre in, 1761, 638.
- Newspapers—in Utica, N. Y., 56; American, in 1789, 261.
- New Windsor—council of war held at by Washington, 102.
- New York—formation of the first constitution of, J. A. Stevens, 51; newspapers printed at Utica, 56; Brinckerhoff's house, Fishkill village, 158; Miller house, White Plains, 158; Beverly Robinson's house, Highlands, 159; Birdsell house, Peekskill, 159; Hopper house, Bergen County, 159; Smith house, Haverstraw, 159; Tappan headquarters, Tappan, 159; Haskbrouck house, Newburg, 160; Morehouse tavern, Pawling, Dutchess Co., 160; Van Brugh Livingston house, Dobbs Ferry, 160; Van Cortlandt house, Yonkers, 160; constitutional development of the colony of, 161; the Slot, 203, 318; influence of American jurisprudence, Horatio Seymour, 217; Rome—men, events, etc., of, 524; Conewago chapel, 316; the empire state, 376; Troy Tammany society, 379; ninety-eight volunteers, noticed, 462; Smith's clove, 515, 695; Jones' history of, during the revolution, noticed, 521; civil status of the presbyterians in province of, 593; skirmish at Poundridge, Westchester Co., 685; seventy-six stone house at Tappan, 743.
- New York City—genealogical and biographical record, noticed, 64; Washington's farewell to his officers at France's tavern, 150, 160; Mortier house, 157; Roger Morris house, Harlem, 157; Day's tavern, Harlem, 160; Little's coffee house, 262; Pearl street lumbering, 378; Washington's spy in, 379; society library, 452; quarter-millennial anniversary of Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of, noticed, 463; minutes of medical society of, noticed, 404; in 1809, reminiscence of the firm of Archibald Gracie & Co., by Charles King, 689; Gracie mansion, 690; chamber of commerce, lost charter of, 693.
- New York Historical Society—address on life, character and history of William Cullen Bryant, by George William Curtis, noticed, 211; collections of, series VIII., noticed, 641; series IX., noticed, 642.
- Ninety-eight N. Y. volunteers, noticed, 462.
- North America—no dynasty in, noticed, 76; French discoveries in the west and south of, noticed, 320.
- North American review, noticed, 71.
- North Carolina—description of Fayetteville, 1790, 48.

North, S. N. Dexter—constitutional development of the colony of New York, 161; Nicholas Herkimer, 580. Notes—47, 159, 196, 250, 310, 376, 448, 511, 579, 636, 692, 756.

Notes—*January*, metal objects from Indian Tumuli in Georgia, 47; description of Fayetteville, N. C., 1700, 48; the old Hessians, 49; Madison's night cap, 50; right of possession, 50; the emperor of the Mississippi, 50; hard money for New England, 50; letter of Major-General Heath, 51; one and inseparable, 52; a medical curiosity, 52; a fact that would be doubted in our day, 52; Sir Peter Warren, 52; Walter Rutherford's toast, 53; Gladstone on American ox-tails, 53; a dishonest skipper, 54; old time confidence in the militia, 54; first American editions of English classics, 54.

February, itinerary of General Washington, commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States, 152; Washington's headquarters during the revolution—Vassall house, 157; Mortier house, 157; Roger Morris house, 157; Miller house, 158; Ford house, 158; Pompton headquarters, 158; Elmar house, 158; Ring's house at Chad's Ford, 158; Pott's house, 158; Colonel Brinckerhoff's, 158; Hopper house, 159; Beverley Robinson house, 159; Birdall house, 159; Tappan headquarters, 159; Smith's house, 159; Hasbrouck house, 160. Houses visited by Washington during the revolution—Shaw house, 160; Morehouse's tavern, 160; Cortlandt house, 160; Rocky Hill, 160; Van Brugh Livingston house, 160; Day's tavern, 160; Frances tavern, 160.

March, Lafayette's lost mass, 166; a reminiscence of "Red Jacket," 197; follow the drum, 198; the American Darbies, 198; the foolish Puritans, 199; Queenston prisoners, 199; customs of the Cherokees, 199; ducking a female scold, 200; Jefferson's summary view, 200; unpublished journal of the Burgoyne campaign, 200; a Jacksonian toast, 200; a medal to Cooper, 201; humble pie, 201.

April, Galloway's plan, 259; the Newark coach, 280, 260; another fish story, 261; the first Boston founding, 261; Dun fish and cusk, 261; American newspapers, 1789, 261.

May, Arnold at Saratoga, 310; John Cruger and the declaration of 1765, 311; the first great quarto bible in America, 311; Franklin's grave, 312; Philadelphia fresh fish market, 312; Cape de Vend dollars, 312; elk meat, 312; first printing press for the Cherokee Nation, 313; Hamilton and Burr, 313.

June, the Empire State, 376; epitaph of a soldier of the revolution, 376; a second Howard medal, 377; André and Arnold, 378.

July, French Freemasons, 448; Portraits of French officers, 448; graveyard inscriptions in Allegheny county, Pa., 449; Meredith Clymer, 449; Macomb's Dam, 449; Mr.

Lee's plan, 450; the split bush, a sign for the godly, 450; Johnny cake, 451; Rochambeau papers, 451.

August, General Sullivan in Rhode Island, 1778, 511; so far west, 511; Indian geographical names—Chillakotho, 512; John Jay at a bull-fight, 512; Simon Girty and the attack on Fort Henry, 1777, 513; Brownsville, Pa., epitaphs, 513; Wayne's burial place, 515.

September, first national salute given to the flag of the United States after the declaration of independence, 579; Erskine, 579; Nicholas Herkimer, 580; introduction of camels in America, 581.

October, Tory ballads of the revolution, 636; a positive denial, 637; Judge Jones and Colonel Meigs, 637; a centenarian, 637; Louis Noel Angibeau, 637.

November, General Sullivan in Rhode Island, 1778, 642.

December, route of André, 756; Gaines' universal register, 759; the removal of Schuyler, 760.

Noticed—third session of the International Congress of Americanists, 580. Numismatic—American and archaeological society, noticed, 68; and antiquarian society of Philadelphia, noticed, 588.

Obituary—Rev. Leonard Woods, D.D., president Bowdoin college, 328; Gen. John Adams Dix, 381.

Old stone mill, Newport—George C. Mason, Jr., 541.

Olden time—a tribute to, 464; correspondence of, noticed, 74. One and inseparable, 52.

Oneida Historical Society—mem. address by D. E. Wagner on men, events, lawyers, etc., of early Rome, noticed, 321; address by Douglas Campbell on colonial New York, before the, noticed, 324; articles of incorporation, noticed, 460.

Onondagas—expedition against the, 688.

Oratory and orators, noticed, 210. Oregon—origin and meaning of the name, J. Hammond Trumbull, 36.

Original Documents—The Treaty of Peace, 1783; Correspondence between William Jay and John Quincy Adams, 39; a Diplomatic Round Robin, 44; Tabulated Statement of Washington's Household Expenses, 1782, 91; the Washington Family of Holland and Germany, 95; Council of War held at New Windsor by General Washington, June 12, 1781, 102; Letters of Washington (seventy), now for the first time published, 1754 to 1780, 104; List of Washington's Letters printed in historical and other periodicals, 149; Diary of Commodore Edward Preble before Tripoli, 1804, 182; the Papers of Father Bruyas, Jesuit Missionary to Canada, 1669 to 1690, 250; Letters of Washington (nineteen) now for the first time published, 1780, 406; Personal Narrative of the Services of Lieut. John Shreve, of the New Jersey Line of the Continental Army, 564; Journal of a March from Fort Schuyler, Expedition against the Onondagas, 1779, by

Thomas Machin, Captain in Col. Lamb's 2d Regiment N.Y. Artillery, 688; Arnold the traitor and André the sufferer—correspondence between Josiah Quincy, Jared Sparks and Benjamin Tallmadge, 747.

Ornithology—American, noticed, 72. Osgood, Samuel—life and its record in this generation, an address, noticed, 67; Bryant among his countrymen, an oration before the Goethe club, noticed, 215; life and writing of Evert Augustus Duyckinck, noticed, 464; guide books, noticed, 770.

Oughsaragoss, 515. Our winter Eden, noticed, 75. Ox-tails—used in America, 53.

Paine family records, noticed, 647. Paine, H. D.—Paine family records, noticed, 646.

Parton, James—follow the drum, 198; the traditional and the real Washington, 463.

Pasquinade—ancient Boston, 315. Pattison, Major Gen. James—official letters of, noticed, 641.

Pawling, Dutchess County. N. Y.—Morehouse tavern, 160.

Peabody Museum—eleventh annual report of trustees of, noticed, 64.

Peace of 1783, 39.

Pearl street (N. Y.) numbering, 378.

Peekskill, N. Y.—Birdsall house, 159.

Peet, Stephen D.—American antiquarian, noticed, 68, 537, 538.

Pelletreau, Wm. S.—third book of records of town of Southampton, L. I., noticed, 213.

Pensioners, revolutionary, 263, 380, 456.

Pennsylvania—patriotism of York ladies, 54; magazine of history and biography, noticed, 77; Pitts house, Valley Forge, 158; Rings house, Del. Co., 158; graveyard inscriptions in Allegheny Co., 449; Brownsville, epitaphs, 513.

Pennypacker—reunion, noticed, 67.

Pepperell, Sir William, sends fish to Sir P. Warren, 261; coat of arms, 517.

Percy, lord—at Brandywine, 201.

Pettit's narrative, 263.

Philadelphia—barbarous customs at, 200; fresh fish market in, 312; numismatic and antiquarian society, of, noticed, 588.

Picketing—what was, 760.

Pickpack, 638, 761.

Pike, James S.—New Puritan, New England two hundred years ago, noticed, 382.

Pinkney, William, Archbishop of Maryland—Webster and Pinkney, noticed, 227.

Pirates on Carolina coast, 1750, 54.

Poems of places—America, by H. W. Longfellow, noticed, 327, 459, 464.

Polar colonization—memorial to congress, noticed, 524.

Pollock—his portrait of Don Galvez, 203.

Pomeroy, Gen. Seth, 452.

Pompton, N. J.—Washington's headquarters, 89, 158.

Pope—Father Tom and, noticed, 459.

Porter, Noah—the American collages and public, noticed, 69.

Portraits—Pollock's, of Don Galvez, 203; of Washington — notice of, 272, 282; Williams the painter, 263; French officers, 448; Vespucci, 514.
Positive denial, 637.
Possession—right of, 50.
Potter, Elisha R.—French settlement in colony of R. I., noticed, 643.
Potter, R. M.—prisoners of Matamoros, a reminiscence of the Texas revolution, 273.
Pottery and porcelain, noticed, 62;
Manufacture of among savage races, noticed, 648.
Potts house, Valley Forge, Penn.—Washington's headquarters at, 158.
Poundridge, Westchester—the skirmish at, *James B. Lockwood*, 685.
Preble, Commodore Edward—diary of before Tripoli, 1804, 182.
Preble, Rear Admiral George Henry—communicates diary of Commodore Edward Preble before Tripoli, 1804, 183; first national salute to the flag of the U. S., 761.
Presbyterians—civil status of in province of New York, *Charles W. Baird*, 593.
Prime, William C.—pottery and porcelain, noticed, 62.
Printer—the American, noticed, 79.
Printing—early American, noticed, 79.
Printing press—first, for the Cherokee nation, 313.
Progress—a mirror for men and women, noticed, 216.
Providence, R. I.—Quarters assigned the army of de Rochambeau, 1782, in, 430.
Publications announced—Wyman's Middlesex genealogies, 327; Lossing's cyclopædia of American history, 327.
Purdy, Dr. A. E. M.—minutes of medical society, noticed, 464.
Puritans—the foolish, 199; the new, *James S. Pike*, noticed, 382.
Putnam, George—sermons preached at Roxbury, noticed, 323.
Putnam, Frederick W.—report of twenty-sixth (Nashville) meeting of association for advancement of science, noticed, 63.
Quebec Historical Society—transaction of, noticed, 458.
Queenston prisoners, 199.
Queries, 55, 201, 261, 313, 378, 451, 514, 581, 638, 693, 760.
Queries—*January*, the royal portraits in the first Congress, 55; the columbiad, 55; Cherokee medal, 55; Captain Smith on the stage, 55; Iowa and Sac mission press, 55; ancestors of Robert Fulton, 56; Greek colony in Florida, 56; Lafayette's expedition against Arnold, 56; newspapers printed at Utica, N. Y., 56; Monument to Captain Burrows of Portland, Me., 57.
February, (No Queries).
March, Lord Percy at Brandywine, 201; old and new Christmas, 201; the Clinton family, 202; Lafayette and Father Mathew, 202; the Quiden, 202; lost localities, 203; Samuel Dodge, 203; André's remains, 203; Nathan Hale, 203; Don Galvez, 203; the bell of independence, 203; Gates' burial place, 204.

April, "Inwood-on-Hudson" vs. "Tubby Hook," 261; French emigrants and New York coffee houses, 262; early American printing, 262; De Bry's voyages, 262; Petit's narrative, 263; Williams, the portrait painter, 263; no more conventions, 263; revolutionary pensions, 263; an author's name, 263; a French history of the American revolution, 264; the first generation, 264; red Madeira, 264; City Island, 264.
May, an historical medal, 313; Colonel Brodhead's expedition of 1779, 315; ancient Boston pasquinade, 315; Balcarres, 315; Governor Geo. B. McClellan's ancestry, 316; De la Neuville, 316; Patrick Henry, 316.
June, Pearl street (N. Y.) numbering, 378; a Minot, 378; Tammany Society in Troy, N. Y., 379; Muscipula, 379; McPhedres, 379; Washington's spy in New York, 379.
July, mourning women, 451; Melton and Malone, 452; a cantsloper, 452; General Seth Pomeroy, 452; New York Society Library, 452; General Frazer's burial place, 452; the fine arts in Newport, 452; the Prince de Broglie, 451; André monument inscription, 453.
August, three old almanacs, 514; portrait of Vespucci, 514; Valentine and Dolly Derry, 514; Schuyler's of New Jersey, 514; Tilley genealogy, 514; Robbins' regicides, 514; Smith's Clove, 515; Wayne's burial place, see note; Oughara-goss, 515; the first French adventurers in 1776, 515; Croghan's Journal of 1765, 515; Melons, 516; crackers, 516; parentage of John Adams of the Connecticut line, 516; Monongahela, 516; an old Rhode Island book, 517.
September, Havre de Grace, 581; the game of Boston, 581; the Tutelos, 582; the Mayflower, 582; Virgil's test of soils, 582; Holloway's portrait of Washington engraved, 583; Rochambeau, 583.
October, the theatre in Newport, 1761, 638; Brady's leap, 638; the André plot, 638; pickpack, 638; an army duel, 638.
November, a lost chapter, 693; first bank in America, 694; groaning beer, 694; Viomeni's Cincinnati certificate, 694; longevity in the colonies, 694; Robert R. Livingstone, 694.
December, Picketing, 760; Gerard, the French pleipotentiary, 760; Irish element in the continental army, 760.
Quiden—the, 202, 454, 583.
Randolph, Charles—money and currency, noticed, 525.
Rau, Charles—Smithsonian archaeological collection of U. S. national museum, noticed, 75; Dighton rock inscription, an opinion of a Danish archaeologist, 226.
Rawle, William Brooke—right flank at Gettysburg, noticed, 213.
Read, Elizabeth A.—Howards of Maryland, 229.
Read, Hon. John—life of, by *George B. Reed*, noticed, 381.

Reavis, L. W.—life and military services of Gen. Harney, noticed, 78.
Red Jacket—a reminiscence of, 197.
Reed, George B.—life of Hon. John Read, noticed, 381.
Reformed Protestant Dutch Church, noticed, 463.
Reid, James D.—the telegraph in America, noticed, 321.
Reigart, Col. J. Franklin—history of first U. S. flag and patriotism of Betsy Ross, noticed, 589.
Replies—57, 204, 264, 316, 379, 454, 517, 583, 639, 694, 761.
Replies—*January*, first linen and calico printing in America, 57; parentage of Jacob Leisler, 57; battle of Monmouth, 58; Sir Peter Warren, 60; a curious English coin, 60; Voltaire and Lafayette, 60.
February (no Replies).
March, battle of Monmouth, 204; metal objects from Indian tumuli, 206; stinking lingo Indians, 208; Iowa Sac and mission press, 208.
April, Greek colony in Florida, 264; songs of the fathers, 265; the battle of Monmouth, *Lee a traitor*, 265.
May, Gates' burial place, 316; lost localities, Coneyago chapel, N. Y., 316; Lord Bellomont's coffin, 317; lost localities—manor of Maske, Forest-of-Dean, the Slot, 318; William Livingston, 318; battle of Monmouth, 318; André's remains, 319.
June, the royal portraits in the first congress, 379; revolutionary pensioners, 380; the columbiad, 380; Captain Smith on the stage, 380; De Bry's voyages, 380; Van Cortlandt, the royalist, 380; Col. Robinson's letter to Arnold, 380.
July, De Bry's voyages, 454; an author's name, 454; André's remains, 454; Colonel Brodhead's expedition of 1779, 454; Mrs. Horsmanden, 454; Gotham, 454; the Guiden, 454; lost localities, 455; first great quarto Bible in America, 455; Inwood-on-Hudson vs. Tubby Hook, 455; Lafayette an American citizen, 455; revolutionary pensioners, 456; De la Neuville, 456; parentage of Jacob Leisler, 456.
August, Pepperell coat of arms, 517; Cherokee medal, 510; a cantsloper, 519; Greek colony in Florida, 520.
September, Johnny cake, 583; Guiden, 583; Minot, 584; Muscipula, 585.
October, an historical medal, 639; Monongahela, 640; revolutionary pensioners, 640; Robbins' regicides, 640; General Frazer's burial place, 640; Howards of Maryland, 640; Rochambeau, 640.
November, De la Neuville, 694; Smith's Clove 695; James McHenry, 696; an old Rhode Island book, 696; mourning women, 696.
December, Arnold not a freemason, 761; pickpack, 761; cannibalism in North America, 761; André monument inscription, 761; first national salute to the flag of the United States, 761; the game of Boston, 762; Johnny cake, 762; Brodhead's expedition, 1779, 762.

- Reprints of Rare Documents—Early Proposal to Annex the Valley of the Mississippi, 45; Washington's Farewell to his Officers at Fraunce's Tavern, 150; Connecticut Elections in the Colonial Days, from the *New York Mercury*, March 22, 1767, 309; List of French Officers who served in the American Armies with Commissions prior to the Treaties made between France and the Thirteen United States, 364; New York in 1800. Reminiscence of the Firm of Archibald Gracie & Co., by *Charles King*, 680.
- Republic—the Mexican, noticed, 79.
- Review—contemporary, noticed, 69; the North American, noticed, 71; International, 80; the Saturday magazine, noticed, 216; the Contemporary, July, 1879, noticed, 770; des deux Mondes, Feb. 15, 1879, noticed, 771.
- Revolution—(seventy) letters of Washington (see letters), 101; Washington's headquarters during the, 157; houses visited by Washington during the, 160; French history of the American, 264; reminiscence of the Texas, 273; epitaph of a soldier of the, 376; Tory ballads of the, 626.
- Revolutionary pensioners, 263, 380, 459.
- Revue des deux Mondes, 15 Feb., 1879, noticed, 771.
- Rhode Island—society of Cincinnati, noticed, 66; the French in, *John Austin Stevens*, 385; address of general assembly to Kochambeau, 433; address of assembly to de Ternay, 434; address of governor, council and representatives, 435; Gen. Sullivan in, 178, 511, 692; an old book of, 517, 606; historical tracts, 642, 643.
- Rice, Allen Thorndike—North American review, noticed, 71.
- Richardson, Abby Sage—history of our country, noticed, 214.
- Rings house, Delaware County, Penn.—Washington's headquarters, 158.
- Robbins' regicides, 514, 640.
- Robertson, R. S.—historical medal, 313; Havre de Grace, 581.
- Robins, R. O.—Robbins' regicides, 514, 640.
- Robinson, Col. Beverly, house at Highland, N. Y.—Washington's headquarters, 159; letter to Arnold, 380.
- Robinson's epitome of literature, noticed, 76.
- Rochambeau—De Fersen, aid-de-camp to, 300, 369, 437; officers of the French army in America under, 423; quarters occupied in Newport by army under, 425; quarters in Providence, 430; address of town of Newport to, 433; replies to same, 433; address of general assembly of R. I., 431; reply to same, 434; of state of R. I., 435; reply to same, 435; papers, 451; pensions, 583, 640.
- Rocky Hill, Somerset Co., N. J.—visited by Washington, 160.
- Roof, F. H.—old fort Van Rensselaer, 629; communicates journal of a march from Fort Schuyler, 1779, by *Thomas Machin*, captain in Col. Lamb's ad regiment N. Y. artillery, 688.
- Ross, Betsy—history of first U. S. flag and patriotism of, noticed, 589.
- Round robin—a diplomatic, 44.
- Roxbury—town of, noticed, 269; sermons preached in the church of first religious society of, *George Putnam*, noticed, 323.
- Royal portraits in first congress, 55, 379.
- Royalist—Van Cortlandt, the, 380.
- Russell, A. J.—Champlain's lost astrolabe, noticed, 648.
- Rutherford, Walter—his toast, 53.
- Sage, David—record of the descendants of, noticed, 271.
- San Francisco—history of, noticed, 322.
- Saratoga—the convention of, 231; history of monument association of, noticed, 268; Arnold at, 310.
- Saturday Magazine, noticed, 216.
- Savarin, Brilliat—in New York, 262.
- Schuyler, Fort—Capt. Thomas Machin's journal of a march from, against the Onondagas, 688.
- Schuyler, Gen. Philip—removal of, 760.
- Schuylers of New Jersey, 514.
- Science—American association for advancement of, noticed, 63; and industry—annual record of for 1878, noticed, 644.
- Scold—ducking a female, 200.
- Seeley, J. R.—life and times of Stein, noticed, 703.
- Seventy-six stone house—at Tappan, *J. A. Stevens*, 743.
- Seymour, Horatio—influence of New York on American jurisprudence, 217.
- Seymour and vicinity—historical collections of, noticed, 270.
- Sharpe, W. C.—Seymour and vicinity, noticed, 270; record of Sharpe family in England and America, noticed, 271.
- Sharpe family record, noticed, 271.
- Shaw house, New London, Connecticut—visited by Washington, 160.
- Shea, George—life and epoch of Alexander Hamilton, noticed, 763.
- Sherman, John—selected speeches and reports of finance and taxation, noticed, 644.
- Shreve, John, Lieut. of N. J. line of continental army—personal narrative of, 564.
- Shreve, S. H.—communicates personal narrative of the services of Lieut. John Shreve of the N. J. line of the continental army, with preliminary and supplementary note, 564.
- Silver question, noticed, 459.
- Skipper—a dishonest, 54.
- Slafter, Edmund F.—prehistoric copper implements, noticed, 463.
- Slote, N. Y.—the, 203, 318.
- Smith, Adam—wealth of nations, noticed, 271.
- Smith, Baxter Perry—history of Dartmouth college, noticed, 589.
- Smith, Capt. John—on the stage, 55, 380.
- Smith, Clement F.—minot, 584.
- Smith, J. J. Pringle—address before South Carolina Hist. Soc., noticed, 266.
- Smith, Joshua Hett, house, Haverstraw, N. Y.—Washington's headquarters, 159.
- Smith's Clove, 515, 625.
- Smithsonian institution—archaeological collection, noticed, 75; annual report of the board of regents of, noticed, 214.
- Society library, 452.
- Somerset county, N. J.—Rocky Hill, 160.
- Songs of the fathers, 265.
- Southampton, L. I.—third book of records of, noticed, 213.
- South Carolina Hist. Soc.—Smith's address before the, noticed, 769.
- Southern historical society papers, noticed, 69, 642.
- Spalding, Bishop—introduction to Hassard's history, noticed, 74.
- Spanish-American documents printed or indebted by *J. Carson Brewster*, 175.
- Spanish river road, Canada—cross set up at, 60.
- Spiritualism—ethics of, noticed, 79.
- Split bush—a sign for the godly, 451.
- Stafford's almanac, 1778—New Haven, 514.
- Stamp Act Congress—declaration of, 311.
- Stanley, Arthur Penrhyn—the east and the west, noticed, 74.
- Starbuck, Alexander—history of Am. whale fishery, noticed, 78.
- Stebbins, Emma—memoir of Charlotte Cushman, noticed, 64.
- Steiger's educational directory, noticed, 645.
- Stein—life and times of, noticed, 703.
- Stevens, A. H.—life of, noticed, 72.
- Stevens, John Austin—birth of the empire state, 1; Washington's headquarters, Pompton, N. J., 89; French in Rhode Island, 385; seventy-six stone house at Tappan, 743.
- St. Henry—Ursuline sister, 196.
- St. John—history of the great fire of, noticed, 212.
- Stockbridge, J. C.—the case of Maj. André, 739.
- Stone, E. M.—report of librarian and cabinet keeper northern department of R. I. hist. soc'y, noticed, 586.
- Stone, R. C.—typical course of study, noticed, 67.
- Stone, William L.—Saratoga monument association, noticed, 268; Gates' burial place, 316; George Clinton, 320.
- Strong, Caleb—mem. of, noticed, 270.
- Students' topical history, noticed, 73.
- Sullivan, Edward—Gen. Sullivan in R. I., 1778, 511.
- Sullivan, Gen. John—in Rhode Island, 1778, 511, 602; justification of, *Thomas C. Amory*, 550.
- Sutor, J. H.—Cherokee customs, 199.
- Swinton, William—Swinton's condensed United States History, noticed, 213.
- Tammany society in Troy, N. Y., 379.
- Tappan, N. Y.—Washington's headquarters at, 180; seventy-six stone house at, André prison, 743.
- Tattnall, Josiah, Com.—life and services, noticed, 77.
- Taylor, Richard—destruction and reconstruction, noticed, 522.
- Telegraph in America—*James D. Reid*, noticed, 321.

- Tennessee—annals of the army of, noticed, 65.
 Ternay, de—French fleet at R. I. under, 423; navy, 420; reply to general assembly of R. I., 431; inscription over monument of, 436.
 Texas—reminiscence of the revolution of, 273.
 Theatre in Newport, 1761, 638.
 Thomas, Lawrence B.—genealogical notes, part second, noticed, 72.
 Thompson, James H.—history of county of Maryland, Ohio, noticed, 271.
 Thwing, Charles F.—American colleges, noticed, 71.
 Ticknor, George—life, letters and journals of, by G. S. Hillard and Anna Ticknor, noticed, 765.
 Tilley, H. Hammett—genealogy of Tilley family, noticed, 591.
 Tilley, R. H.—Tilley genealogy, 514.
 Titus, Rev. Anson, Jr.—Charlton, Mass., hist. sketch, noticed, 591.
 Toast—Walter Ruherford's, 53; Jacksonian, 200.
 Todd, Charles Burr—life of Aaron Burr, noticed, 648.
 Tories in Connecticut, 1775, 201.
 Tory ballads of the revolution, 636.
 Townsend, John P.—les caisses d'épargnes aux Etats Unis (the U. S. savings banks), noticed, 76.
 Translations—Americus Vesputius, I. Letter of Vesputius of December 9, 1508, 193; II. Biographical Sketch of Vesputius, 195; III. Signature of Vesputius, 196; from the Cartas de Indias, 193; Letters of de Fersen, Aid-de-Camp to Rochambeau, written to his father in Sweden, 1780 to 1782, 300, 369, 437; Beaumarchais' opinion of Silas Deane and Arthur Lee, 611; Letter of Count de Vergennes to Silas Deane, 635.
 Treaty of peace of 1783, 39.
 Trebor—story of American life and character, noticed, 326.
 Tripoli—diary of Com. Edward Preble before, 182.
 Troy—N. Y. Tammany society in, 379.
 Trumbull's, Jonathan—picture of surrender of Cornwallis in capitol, Washington—legend to, 448.
 Trumbull, J. Hammond—origin and meaning of the name Oregon, 56.
 Tucker, George—his essays, 263, 454.
 Tubby Hook—Inwood-on-Hudson vs., 261, 455.
 Turner, Henry E.—William Coddington in R. I. col. noticed, 642.
 Tutelos—the, 582.
 Tuttle, Hudson—ethics of spiritualism, 79.
 Tyler, Moses Coit—history of American literature, noticed, 309.
 Uliupis—see Uliupis.
 United States—topical course of study for common schools of, noticed, 67; Hassard's history of, noticed, 74; caisses d'épargnes (savings banks), noticed, 76; Richardson's history of our country, noticed, 214; Berard's history of, noticed, 460; first national salute given to flag of, after declaration of independence, 579, 761; history of first flag and patriotism of Betsy Ross, noticed, 589.
 Utica, N. Y.—newspapers printed at, 56.
 Van Laun, Henry—French revolutionary epoch, noticed, 768.
 Valentine and Moll Derry, 514.
 Valentini, Ph.—new and ancient map of Yucatan, 295.
 Valley Forge, Penn.—Potts house at, 158.
 Van Cortlandt house, Yonkers, N. Y.—visited by Washington, 160.
 Van Cortlandt—the royalist, 380.
 Van Rensselaer—old fort, *F. H. Roof*, 899.
 Vasse, Baronne de—revolution de l'Amerique, 264.
 Vassal house, Cambridge, Mass.—Washington's headquarters at, 157.
 Verd, Cape de—dollars, 312.
 Vergennes, Count de—his letter to Silas Deane, 635.
 Vermont—records of governors and council of, noticed, 211; historical society, proceedings of, noticed, 80.
 Vespucci, Americus—letter of Dec. 9, 1508, to Ximenes de Cisneros, 193; biographical sketch of, 195; signature of, 196; portrait of, 514.
 Vesputius, Americus, and Christopher Columbus—letters of, noticed, 528.
 Virgil's test of soils, 582.
 Virginia—itinerant preachers in, 450.
 Vliupis—the globe of, *B. F. de Costa*, 17.
 Voltaire and Lafayette, 60.
 Wade, Zebulon—Scituate, 54.
 Wager, E. D.—men, events, lawyers of Rome, noticed, 224.
 Walker, Admiral—at Spanish river road, Canada, 50.
 Walsh, J. H.—dogs of Great Britain, America, &c., noticed, 637.
 Walton, E. P.—records of gov. and council of Vermont, noticed, 211.
 Walworth, Ellen Hardin—battle of Buena Vista, 705.
 Wampum—paper read before the numismatic and antiquarian society of Philadelphia, noticed, 79.
 War of 1812-15 against Great Britain, noticed, 754.
 Warren, Sir Peter, 52, 261, 611.
 Washburne, Ichabod—autobiography and memoir of, noticed, 271.
 Washington, George—introduction to opinion of his general officers, *H. A. Homer*, 81; his opinion of the field officers of the revolution alive in 1791, 82; headquarters at Pompton, 89; tabulated statement of his household expenses, 1789, 91; family of Holland and Germany, 96; pedigree and history of, noticed, 591; council of war held at New Windsor, June 12, 1781, by, 102; seventy letters of, for the first time published, 1754-1780, 104; nineteen, 1780-1781 (see letters), 406; list of letters of, printed in historical and other periodicals, 140; farewell to his officers at Fraunces' tavern, N. Y., 159; commander in chief, itinerant letters of, 121; headquarters during the revolution, 157; houses visited during the revolution by, 160; Masonic portrait, 263; portraits, noticed, 272, 382; spy in New York, 379; the traditional and the real, *James Parton*, 465; the Dey house, headquarters at Frenkness, N. J., *William Nelson*, 490; epitaphs at Brownsville, Penn., 513; family, introduction to history of, noticed, 526; Holloway's engraved portrait of, 583.
 Waterston, Robert C.—tribute to William Cullen Bryant, noticed, 80.
 Wayne's burial place, 515.
 Wealth of nations, noticed, 71.
 Webster and Pinkney—*William Pinkney*, noticed, 325.
 Welles, Albert—introduction to history of Washington family, noticed, 526; pedigree and history of Washington family, noticed, 591.
 Wells, Rev. E. M. P.—life and character of, noticed, 270.
 Westchester Co.—Miller house, 158; skirmish at Poundridge, 685.
 Westerly (R. I.)—its witnesses for two hundred years, noticed, 72.
 Western armies—chronological summary of battles of, confederate states, noticed, 648.
 Western expedition, 1779—list of journals, narratives, etc., of the, 673.
 Weston, George M.—silver question, noticed, 459.
 West Point—colored cadet at, noticed, 462.
 Whipple, John—free trade in money the cause of fraud, noticed, 75.
 Whitcomb, T. P.—student's topical history, noticed, 73.
 Whitmarsh—Elmar house at, 158.
 White Plains—Miller house at, 158.
 Whitmore, William H.—graveyards of Boston, noticed, 79.
 Whittaker, T.—handbook of Mount Desert, noticed, 381.
 Wildes, George D.—oration commemorative of the settlement of Newbury (Mass.), noticed, 77.
 Williams—the portrait painter, 263.
 Williams, W.—handbook of Mount Desert, noticed, 381.
 Wilson, Alexander, and Charles Lucian Bonaparte—American ornithology, noticed, 72.
 Winsor, Justin—Robbins' regicides, 640.
 Winthrop, Robert C.—correspondence of Hartlib, Haak and others, noticed, 74; addresses noticed, 210.
 Wisconsin historical society—letter of Slafter to, noticed, 163.
 Wood, Isaac F.—Lafayette and Father Mathew, 302.
 Woodruff, Jas. O.—expedition around the world, noticed, 212.
 Woods, Leonard, D.D., president of Bowdoin college—obituary, 328.
 Woodward, Ashbel—wampum; paper read before numismatic and antiquarian soc. of Phila., noticed, 79.
 Woolsey, Theodore D.—introduction to study of national law, noticed, 381.
 Wootton—white horse of, noticed, 73.
 Wyman, T. B.—Middlesex genealogies, edited by *H. H. Edes*, announced, 327; genealogies and estates of Charlestown, (Mass.), noticed, 769.
 Wyman, W. S.—stinking lingo Indians, 208.
 Yonkers, N. Y.—Van Cortlandt house at, 160.
 York, Penn.—patriotic ladies of, 54.
 Young, Jennie T.—the ceramic art, noticed, 68.
 Yucatan—new and ancient map of, *Ph. Valentini*, 295.